

To
The Patron, Vice-Presidents, Fellows and Members
of the
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
as a Souvenir of
The 125 Years' Anniversary of the
Foundation of the Society
and

As an humble mark of gratitude, for the intellectual pleasure, enjoyed in the company of its learned Members and its valuable books.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

President,
B. B., R. Asiatic Society,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

IN ENGLISH.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (1903).

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PREFACE.

In all, I have read 49 papers before my Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Out of these, 44 have been published in separate Volumes as follows :—

Asiatic Papers, Part I (1905)	16
Asiatic Papers, Part II (1917)	13
Asiatic Papers, Part III (1927)	8
In a separate Volume, entitled "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (1903).	2
In a separate volume, entitled "A Glimpse into the Work of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" (1905)	1
In a separate Volume, entitled Dante Papers (1914)..	1
In a separate Volume, entitled Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab (1914)	2
In my Volume, "Cama Oriental Institute Papers" (1928)	1
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Five more are published in this Volume. I also give in this Volume "A Note on two Chalukya Plates", found at Dhamadachchha in the Naosari District, communicated at first to the Superintendent of the Archæological Department of Western India, on 7th June 1919.

I give my best thanks to my learned friend Mr. Bomonji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., for kindly preparing the Index of this Volume and for examining the proofs of the text of the Persian Qisseh.

I joined the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, in 1888. I was elected a member of its Managing Committee in 1899 and its Vice-President in 1907. The Society honoured me with its Fellowship in 1924. This year it has raised me to its honoured chair of Presidentship. I note here with pleasure what I said on taking, for the first time, the Presidential chair in August 1929 :

"I have presided a number of times at your meetings as your Vice-President, but this is the first time that I preside as your President. I beg to thank you heartily for calling me to the chair, occupied, from time to time, by distinguished scholars of Bombay, some of whom were the Governors of the Bombay Presidency and Judges of the High Court. Thanks to God, I am honoured, ere this, by our and some foreign Governments in recognition of my humble literary work in various directions. But, I value very much the honour of being called to the chair of the Presidentship of the Fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad, where, there were, hundreds of my Indian literary brethren, who gave an expression to their appreciation of my humble work. Here, in the present case, I value the honour, because it is gratifying to find one's work valued and appreciated by brethren, who have come into close contact, and who have worked, with me on the platform of this Society. It is a great pleasure to find one's work appreciated by one's peers, one's co-workers. I pray to God, that He may enable me to be worthy of your regards and confidence and to be worthy of the Chair honoured by my distinguished predecessors."

It is a happy coincidence, that the year of my election to the Presidential chair is the year of the 125th Anniversary of the foundation of this Society. As a poor token of commemorating this event, and as an humble souvenir of my love and regard for this Society, I beg to associate this volume with the name of the Society and to dedicate it to its Patron, Vice-Presidents, Fellows and Members. This is the second time that I dedicate one of my works to this Society. My first dedication was in 1904 on the occasion of the celebration of the Society's Centenary, when I handed over a copy of the dedicated Volume, *Asiatic Papers, Part I*, into the hands of the then Patron, Lord Lamington. When I dedicate, after a quarter of a century, this volume—*Asiatic Papers, Part IV*—I simply repeat, with some verbal changes, what I said in the first dedicated volume:—"I am very greatly indebted to the Society, especially to its excellent Library—excellent in its treasures of old books. Were it not for these, I would not have been able to do even half of what I have done in this volume. I look back with pleasure to the hours I have spent in the rooms of this Society, in the company of some

of its learned members, while reading my papers or hearing those of others ; and I look back with greater pleasure, to the days, months and years, that I have passed at home in the company of its precious treasures. It is as an humble mark of gratitude for the intellectual pleasure thus enjoyed, that I beg to dedicate this little volume to the Patron, Vice-Presidents, Fellows and Members of this Society."

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

COLABA, BOMBAY,

President,

17th November 1929.

B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay

ASIATIC PAPERS

A CHRISTIAN CROSS WITH A PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE TRAVANCORE STATE

(Read on 11th September 1924.)

I.

MR. A. R. RAMANATH AYYAR, Superintendent of Archæology in the Travancore State, kindly sent me, for decipherment, with his letter, dated Trivandrum, 5th February 1924, "a photo-print of a Cross, which was recently discovered at Kaḍamaṭṭam in the Travancore State, having a Pahlavi inscription engraved on a canopying ribbon round it." Mr. Ayyar wrote: "It may be noted that the portion of the inscription on the left limb of the arch is identical with the shorter sentence found on the Crosses at St. Thomas's Mount and at Kottayam, while the remaining portion of the writing seems to consist of two short sentences separated by a + mark." The photo-print was not clear. So, I wrote on 13th February and requested "that a full-size squeeze of it may be taken." Mr. Ayyar thereupon sent me, with his letter of 18th February, an estampage of the inscription, and then, later on, sent also a photograph of a better impression. He repeated in this second letter what was said in the first about the writing on the left limb of the Cross, that it was "identical with the shorter sentence engraved in the same portion of the three other Crosses."

at Kottayam and St. Thomas's Mount." He then added: "The equal-armed Cross, cut out in low relief under the inscribed belt, is similar to that found at the Mount and that the sculpture seems to be of a slightly later date, but this question of age will have to be decided by Pahlavi scholars on a consideration of the script engraved in the record in question."

As to the situation of the Church in which the Cross is found, the particular position in which it is found and the sculptural details of the Cross, I will quote here at some length Mr. Ayyar's remarks, which he has made in his official Report, and of which he has kindly sent me a copy with his letter of 22nd April 1924. He writes:

"This Cross is found embedded in the south wall of the sanctum in the Jacobite-Syrian Church at Kaḍamattam, a village six miles to the west of Muvattupula, a taluk-centre in the Travancore State and about 40 miles from Kottayam where the other two Crosses are found; but my informants were unable to give me any interesting details as to whether this Cross had been preserved in the Church from a very long time or whether it was brought down from some other place and fixed up in its present position. The Church which is picturesquely situated on the top of a small hillock does not claim any antiquity, epigraphical or architectural, except for the presence of this Persian Cross. This new Cross resembles the bigger Kottayam Cross in its sculptural details, i.e., it is an equal-armed Greek type with fleur-de-lis extremities, and it stands on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters of the same type as that of the other two examples and on the capitals of these are also found two couchant *makaras* or fish-monsters facing each other and supporting with their gaping mouths a semi-circular belt (*prabhāvali*) arching above the Cross. The outer rim of this arch is represented as ornamentally curving out in two hooks on either side of some central flower-and-bead cluster. In the place occupied by a down-turned dove with outspread wings (symbolizing the Holy Ghost) and shown as pecking at the top of the upper limb of the Cross, we have in the Kaḍamattam example a somewhat curiously shaped object which resembles a crown or a bishop's mitre, or worse still a shuttle-cock; but as these have no symbolical significance, we have to take this object to be an extremely crude representation of a dove, whose extended wings have the outlines of two inturned rose leaves, whose body and tail are inartistically sculptured as five straight feather-tipped strands, and whose head and beak (looking like a turnip) are hardly recognizable as parts of a bird's anatomy. On either side of the lower limb of the Cross are the same floral device

branching out upwards in conventional curls and a semi-circular triple band envelops the steps in a rainbow arch. Five oblong niche-like depressions have been crudely picked out for the sake of ornament on the plain pedestal below this cavalry of three steps and some later (Romish ?) enthusiast has conveniently managed to shape them into the abbreviated formula I. N. R. I. (*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*). The portion containing the Pahlavi writing is a narrow ribbon of stone which springs at either extremity of this base and going up straight to a height of about 15" curves round in a semi-circular arch of 9" radius enveloping the top of the Cross and its halo-circle.

"The inscription on this band seems to consist of three short sentences separated by two + (cross) marks. Of these the portion running down the left limb from one such mark at the top corner appears to be identical with the shorter sentence found in the same position in all the other three Crosses, both at Kottayam and the Mount; but the remaining portion appears to be different and to consist of two sentences marked off by the other dividing + symbol. Sculpturally considered, this crudely wrought Cross at Kaḍamattam seems to be a later copy of the one at St. Thomas's Mount; but an authoritative opinion as to its probable age can be pronounced *only* by Pahlavi scholars, after a careful consideration of the script employed in the present record."

It appears from the *Indian Antiquary*¹ of December 1923, that the slab of the Cross was discovered at the close of the year 1921 by Mr. T. K. Joseph. The discoverer writes (*op. cit.* p. 355):

"As the epigraph was in Pahlavi and not in Vaṭṭeḷuttu, I forwarded a copy of it to the Pahlavi scholar Dr. Cassartelli. The inscription seems to be a replica of the one on the other two similar slabs. Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, in a letter to me dated 27th May 1922, says: 'I have compared it with the Mylapore (Greek Mount) inscription, and have little doubt but yours is a replica of it.'"

Rev. Father Hosten has referred to this new Cross in his article entitled "Christian Archæology in Malabar" in the December 1922 issue of the *Catholic Herald of India*. He says there that "the art displayed by the Kaṭamaṣṣam Cross. . . may help to determine certain almost obliterated designs of the Mylapore Cross, and this may lead to a very distinct advance in the interpretation of the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians." Rev. Father Hosten has described again, in detail, from photographs sent to him recently by the Archæological Department of Tra-

¹ Vol. 52, pp. 355-6.

vancore, the design of the Crosses and the symbolism on them.² In his description, he speaks of the pillars of the St. Thomas Mount as "appearing to be more primitive, more Persepolitan(?), than those of the Kottayam Cross, No. 1."

Mr. Joseph does not tell us how Dr. Cassartelli, the learned Bishop of Sanford, has read and translated the inscription. As far as I know, his transliteration and translation are not published.

From Dr. Burnell's article³ which is referred to later on, and other subsequent writings on the subject we gather that the Mount Church Cross was discovered by the Portuguese when they were digging in 1547 the foundation for a new Church, the Mount Church on its present site. They came across the ruins of old Christian buildings, and in these ruins, they found the Cross with the Pahlavi inscription. This they installed in their new Church where it now stands. According to Dr. Burnell, miracles were believed to have been worked with this Cross. This Cross was soon unhesitatingly identified with the one which the Apostle St. Thomas is said to have embraced while on the point of death and its miraculous virtues specially obtained great fame.⁴

II.

In reply to Mr. Ayyar's inquiries, I had submitted my reading and rendering of the inscription to him with my letter of 15th April. After I announced my paper to our Society, I learnt that my translation, sent to Mr. Ayyar, was published in the June 1924 issue of the *Academy* by Mr. T. K. Joseph, the discoverer of the inscription, to whom it seems to have been passed on by Mr. Ayyar. In this paper, I beg to treat the whole subject at some length. If I do not mistake, this is the first attempt at decipherment in relation to this Cross.

Decipherment of the Inscriptions on the previous Crosses.—Mr. Ayyar and Mr. Joseph have referred to three other Crosses of the kind previously discovered and as Mr. Ayyar has spoken of a short sentence of the recently discovered Cross as being identical

² *Indian Atheneum*, August 1923, p. 67 f.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, pp. 308-16.

⁴ T. K. Joseph, *Indian Antiquary*, December 1923, p. 355.

with a similar sentence in the previously discovered Crosses, I will, at first, speak briefly of these Crosses, their inscriptions, and the attempts made to decipher them. If I do not mistake, this is the first time that the subject of the Crosses inscribed in Pahlavi has been brought before our Society, and so, I think, a brief account will be of some use to our local students.

(a) The Crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions were first discovered in 1873 by Dr. A. C. Burnell, who drew the attention of scholars to them in a letter, dated "Mangalore, South Canara, Madras Presidency, May 12th, 1873," addressed to the London *Academy* and published in its issue of 14th June 1873 (pp. 237-8). In that letter, he expressed an expectation that "the old Syrian Churches (at Niraṇam, Kayarinkullam, etc.) will no doubt furnish other copies" (p. 238). The recently discovered inscription under examination has fulfilled Dr. Burnell's expectation, and we should not be surprised if some more Crosses with inscriptions are discovered in that part of the country. In the same letter, Dr. Burnell had promised to get the inscription lithographed and send copies of the lithograph to Pahlavi Scholars and he had done so.

Dr. Burnell's interest in the discovery of the Pahlavi inscriptions was from the point of view of supporting Prof. Weber, who had, in his essay on the Rāmāyaṇa "suspected Greek influences in the composition of that poem" (*op. cit.* p. 237). He said: "It will now, in consequence of this discovery, be possible to prove that much in the modern philosophical schools of India comes from some form of Christianity derived from Persia; and this fact at once explains also the origin of the modern Vedānta sects in Southern India exclusively." Dr. Burnell added: "The number of these tablets proves that there must have been [Christian] communities in several places, and those large enough to have Churches, both on the S. W. and S. E. coasts of India." The early Christian settlers from Persia were taken to be Manichæans, and Dr. Burnell thought, that Manigrāmam, the name of the settlement of the Persian Christians, came from Māni, the founder of Manichæism. Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānuja and Madhvācārya, who founded the modern schools of Vedānta, were all supposed

to have come under the influence of Christian settlers whose settlements were not far from the towns of these founders.

(b) Dr. Burnell then published a pamphlet, entitled "On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India." It was printed, in 1873, at the Mission Press in Mangalore.

(c) This pamphlet was reprinted with additions by Dr. Burnell in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1874 (vol. 3, pp. 308-16), under the heading "On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India," with four figures. These are: (1) The Mount Cross, (2 & 3) the Sassanian and Chaldeo-Pahlavi attestation to a grant, and (4) the Tablet at Kottayam.

(d) On the appearance of Dr. Burnell's pamphlet, Dr. Martin Haug, attempted a reading and translation in the *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung* (No. 29) of 29th January 1874. Haug's reading and rendering are given by Burnell in the reprint of his pamphlet in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1874 (p. 314).

(e) Then Dr. E. W. West gave his reading and rendering while reviewing Dr. Burnell's above pamphlet, in the *Academy* of 24th January 1874 (vol. 5, pp. 96-7). He gave two readings and two translations, varying according to the position of the lines, *i. e.*, when one read the upper and longer line first or the shorter line first. Again for the short line, he submitted an alternative reading and rendering.

(f) Thereafter, in 1892, Prof. Harlez gave his reading and translation, before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Paris (*Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists*, Paris, 1892).⁵

(g) Then, in the *Epigraphia Indica* of 1896-97 (vol. 4, pp. 174-6), Dr. West gave an amended reading and translation.⁶ Herein he read the long line first.

⁵ Vide Dastur Darabji Peshotan Sanjana's paper in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*.

⁶ In a brief paper, read before the Jarthoshti Din ni khol karnari Mandli, on 14th November 1896, I drew the attention of our Parsee scholars to Dr. West's above-mentioned article in the *Epigraphia Indica* and gave a brief account of the Pahlavi inscriptions in Madras. Vide my Gujarati Iranian essays (જૈન-ઈરાનિય), part III, pp. 193-96; also my *Glimpse into the Work of the Jarthoshti Din ni khol karnari Mandli*, p. 70.

(h) Then Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana gave four alternative readings and renderings in his paper entitled "The Pahlavi Inscription on the Mount Cross in Southern India".⁷

III.

Doubt as to the Script being Pahlavi.—Before I proceed further, I will say here a few words on the subject of the doubt as to whether the script of these inscriptions is Pahlavi. Mr. Ayyar in his letter of 16th May 1924 writes:

"While all Persian scholars, though they may have certain disagreements in its interpretation, are however decided that the script employed in the record is Pahlavi, it is passing strange that Dr. Bernard of St. Thomas of the Mannanum (Travancore) Carmelite Seminary should, in his *History of the St. Thomas Christians* (in Malayalam), give a curious preference to the interpretation which certain Brahmans of Mylapore are supposed to have offered to the Portuguese in the 16th century and that Fr. Burthey of Trichinopoly, more interested in theology than archaeology, should have declared the script and language of the record to be Aramaic and Tamil respectively."

Thus, giving an expression to his surprise, Mr. Ayyar has sent me "two prints of the Koṭṭayam Crosses wherein," he says, he has "successfully combined separate photos of the Crosses and the estampages of their inscriptions so as to yield clear and complete pictures." On carefully looking at these two prints, and on looking to the facsimiles given in other writings as referred to in this paper, and on looking to the photo-liths of the inscriptions on the Crosses, students of Pahlavi would have no doubt about the script being Pahlavi.

I will refer here in passing to a well-nigh similar case, where in a script, which was Pahlavi as determined later on by Pahlavi scholars,⁸ was not recognised as Pahlavi even by a scholar like Anquetil Du Perron. It is the case of the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves in the neighbourhood of Borivli. It was in 1861, that the late Dr. Bhau Daji had first drawn attention to

⁷ The *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 1914, pp. 192-8.

⁸ See *Jarthoshti Abhyas*, No. II, p. 98a; No. III, p. 146a, 146-63 and No. IV, pp. 209-17.

them, and it was in 1866 that Dr. (then Mr.) E. W. West submitted a Note, dated 5th May 1866, to this Society, drawing special attention of scholars to the Pahlavi inscription.⁹ Anquetil Du Perron saw the inscription in 1761, but he did not recognize the script as Pahlavi. He speaks of their being in Mogous or Mougous characters. In one place, he speaks of the characters as Mongous. He says:¹⁰ “Deux inscriptions, qui paroissent récentes, chacune de douze lignes perpendiculaires ; gravées peu profondement. & en caracteres Mougous, sur deux pilliers qui font partie des murs ; l’une haute d’un pied, l’autre large & haute de quinze pouces.”¹¹

In another place,¹² he speaks of the script as Mongous (caracteres Mongous). In the Index¹³ again, he gives it as Mongous. We see from this, that even a scholar like Anquetil who knew Pahlavi though not much, could not recognize a Pahlavi inscription and took the characters to be Mogous or Mongous. “I think,” as I have said elsewhere, “that the word Mougous is correct and is the same as the Parsee word Magav or Magous, the Greek Magi. It seems that he was properly informed by his guide or guides at the caves, that the characters were those of the Magous or Magis, but he did not properly understand the word, to take it for the characters of the Persian Magi or Mobads.”¹⁴ It seems that, just as in the case of the Malabar Coast Crosses, so in the case of the Kanheri and other caves in the neighbourhood, the Brahmins in charge of the places of worship had strange views. They seem to have told Anquetil that they were the works of Alexander the Great !

⁹ Vide my paper on Anquetil Du Perron read before this Society on 16th December 1915 ; and my *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, p. 49.

¹⁰ *Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, p. 404.

¹¹ Translation : “Two inscriptions, which appear recent, each of 12 perpendicular lines, inscribed less deep, and in character Mougous, over two pillars which form a part of the walls ; one, one foot high and the other 15 inches broad and high.”

¹² *Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, p. 395.

¹³ *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 732.

¹⁴ Vide my paper on Anquetil Du Perron. Vide my book *Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab*, p. 50.

IV.

Before I give my decipherment, I beg to refer to the difficulty of reading such inscriptions. The decipherment of Pahlavi inscriptions is often difficult. The difficulty is due to various causes:

(a) Firstly, as many of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet admit of more than one reading, there is, at times, a difference of opinion among scholars about the reading of some words even in the manuscripts. (b) This difficulty is added to in the case of inscriptions, wherein, besides the difficulty of engraving, there is that of doing so within a limited space. (c) Then, there is a further difficulty, when the inscription is to be done in an arched space. (d) Lastly, the artists, who engrave such inscriptions, are not literary men. They work mechanically from copies or tracings submitted to them and any error in the form of letters adds to the difficulty of deciphering them.

The difficulty about the decipherment of a Pahlavi inscription like that under notice is well illustrated by the attempts of scholars in reading the Pahlavi inscription on the above-mentioned Christian Cross in the Church of Mount St. Thomas at Madras, the like of which is also found on two Crosses at Kottayam. Scholars differ, not only here and there, but in most of their readings. Dr. West has given two readings, the second being an emendation of the first. Even in his first reading, he has given an alternative reading of the short sentence. Dastur Darabji P. Sanjana has given four alternative readings and translations. These facts show how difficult it is to decipher a Pahlavi inscription on a Christian Cross of the kind which is under examination in this paper. What Dr. West has very properly said of the Mount St. Thomas Cross is true of this also, that "there is little chance or any two Pahlavi scholars agreeing about its interpretation." In another place, he says: "It is exceedingly easy to point out such defects, but it is not so easy to suggest any really satisfactory reading of the whole inscription, as only the three words *denman*, *madam* and *bokht* are indisputable."¹⁵ Again, add to the difficulty inherent in the read-

¹⁵ *Academy*, 24th January 1874, p. 97.

ing itself, that of obtaining really good estampages and photos. For example, take the case of the inscription of the previously discovered Crosses.

We have before us, among several others latterly given by other writers, three following impressions of the Mount St. Thomas Cross inscription: (1) The one given by Dr. Burnell; (2) the one given by Dr. West in the *Epigraphia Indica*; and (3) the one given by Dr. Harlez in the Report of the 1892 Oriental Congress of Paris.¹⁶

Strange to say, we find slight differences in all these three impressions or copies in the matter of the above-mentioned short sentence. By carefully observing this short sentence in all the three Crosses, one will notice that, though apparently identical, there is a difference here and there. Dr. West had to wait for some time before he gave his amended reading from more than one good copy of the photo-litho.

Rev. Hosten says: "If I were a Sassanian-Pahlavi scholar, I would not be satisfied with deciphering from photographs. I would insist on good estampages. . . only a rubbing, therefore, could bring out the exact details of the lettering with every jot and tittle."¹⁷ With that view, I had asked for an estampage of this newly discovered Cross, and I thank Mr. Ayyar for kindly sending it to me. I am not sure whether it is a good estampage. But even with this estampage and the second good photo-print kindly sent to me by Mr. Ayyar, the task of decipherment has not been easy. In reply to Mr. Ayyar's inquiries, I submitted my reading and translation with my letter of 15th April 1924. I repeat here what I wrote to him: "One cannot claim any finality in such reading. When you see, that in the case of the previous inscription, the readings of five scholars—two of whom have submitted a number of alternate readings and translations—have differed, you must expect differences between my attempt and that of others who may follow."

With these few preliminary observations suggested by the decipherment of the inscription on the known Crosses, I beg to submit my reading and translation of the Pahlavi inscription on the Kaḍamaṭṭam Cross.

¹⁶ As reproduced by Dastur Darabji in his article in the *Madressa Jubilee Volume*.

¹⁷ *Indian Atheneum*, August 1923, p. 71.

Koṭṭayam into a shape like an hour-glass, or the cipher 8, laid upon its side ; but this can hardly be read as any combination of Pahlavi letters, and is probably ornamental.”²¹ I think, it is not an ornamental dash, but is the word *li*, i.e. ‘I.’ Our present inscription has, instead of two, three sentences separated by a cross. There is a similar sign (or dash as said by Dr. West) between the second and the third line, though not exactly the same. In the commencement of the third sentence, it is more like that on the Koṭṭayam Cross, i.e. of “a shape like an hour-glass.”


(b) I read the second word as *zibah*, Pers. زیبا, ‘beautiful.’ One may object, and properly object, that the first letter of the word is not ز (z) as it ought to be written in the beginning of the word. But, I think that it is perhaps the difficulty of engraving, in a limited space, the long shape of z as it should be written in the beginning of a word, that may have led the engraver to use the form of the letter as it occurs in the middle of a word. But the letter may be read as *d*, if not *z*, without much difficulty and objection. In that case, it may be read as *dibah* دیبا, i.e. ‘gold-tissued,’ hence ‘beautiful.’ However, I admit, that I am not strong, nay, I am rather doubtful, in the reading of this word ; but, I think, it is an adjectival word, qualifying, and in praise of, the next word.

(c) I read the next word as *raya* (Av. ریا. Skt. *vi*, Lat. *avis* ‘bird’) and I take it that the word refers to the bird, ‘dove,’ in the design of the Cross. We see the bird very clearly in the design of the Mount Cross.²² Dr. Burnell thus quotes Lucena (“a safe authority on the Portuguese translations in India of that time”) as speaking about the Mount St. Thomas Cross which was discovered “in digging for the foundations of a hermitage amid the ruins which marked the martyrdom of the apostle St. Thomas. On one face of this slab was a Cross in relief, with a bird like a dove over it

²¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 4, p. 175.

²² See *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, p. 308 for the design. Also for the design, see the *Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 196 and the estampage of the recently discovered Cross. And finally the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, translated by Yule, third edition revised by Cordier (1903) vol. 2, p. 353.

with its wings expanded as the Holy Ghost is usually represented when descending on our Lord at his baptism or our Lady at her annunciation.”²³

(d) Ninav III. One may object to the word being Ninav, i.e. Nineveh. Some horizontal slips under I give the letter the look of *b* . But the form of the word as seen in the previous Cross helps the reading. The form, as given by Harlez and reproduced by Dastur Darabji, is clear as III.²⁴ Dastur Darabji has printed it as II though he has read it as *van*. With reference to this name, Ninav, I would refer my readers to the account of Dr. Burnell in his paper, first published in the *Academy* of 1874 (vol. III), referred to above. It appears from that account that the early Christians who came to India were those from Babylon, and the adjoining countries. So, the mention of Ninav (Nineveh) refers to that part Persia.

I may say here that one may possibly object to my reading the word as Ninav in the recently discovered Cross. But the word is clear in the similar part of the inscription in the previously discovered Crosses. The flourish of the hand by the artist on the Cross under examination has not made the word clear in the present case. The word is written as III (something like III, i.e., hundred and eleven in Arabic figures) and it occurs as Ninav for Nineveh in the Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihā-i Airān²⁵.

(e) Now we come to the middle line, which is the shortest. There, I read the first word as *nāpisht*, i.e., ‘written’ and the next word as *Mar Shapur*. This part of the inscription is mutilated. But I think that the name is that of the ‘writer,’ i.e., the person who got the stone inscribed with the Cross and the inscription. It is, as it were, his votive offering, and so, as may be naturally expected, he gets his name put down in the inscription. Mar Shapur referred to may be the Mar Shapur mentioned by Burnell as one of the early Christian emigrants.

²³ *Indian Antiquary*, November 1874, p. 313.

²⁴ See *Sir Jamshedji Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 196.

²⁵ Vide my Pahlavi Translation, part I, *Aiyādgār-i Zarīrān, Shatroihā-i Airān va Afdya va Sahigih-i Seistān*, p. 115.

(f) Coming to the third line, I have referred above to the reading of this first word. The second word, I read as *ahrob* (*ahlob*), i.e., 'pious, holy.'

(g) Then the next two words *Mashiah avakhshāhi* are well nigh the same as in the previously discovered inscription of Mount St. Thomas.

(h) Then the last two words also seem to be the same as those of the previous inscription and I think they may be read as Dr. West had read them.

On receiving my reading and translation, Mr. Ayyar wrote in his letter of 22nd April :

"The reference to the 'bird' in the Kaḍamattam Cross as noted by you is quite in keeping with the pictured detail and is important, inasmuch as it helps to settle the doubtful nature of the emblem figured on the older Kottayam Cross which it resembles and which latter had led Fr. H. Hosten of Darjeeling into some learned speculations in the *Indian Athenæum* for August 1923. The mention of Mar Shapur in the record is valuable in more aspects than one; and as in all likelihood, he may be identical with Maruvān Sāpir Īšo of the Kottayam copper-plate charter of the time of the Cera king Sthānu-ravi (ca. A. D. 880-900), this cross may be taken to furnish an important *dated* landmark more reliable than the mere approximations of palaeography, however carefully balanced they may have been. (See also Travancore Archæological Series No. II, pp. 60 *et seq.*)"²⁶

I am glad to learn from what is said above by Mr. Ayyar from archæological and historical points of view, that my reading of this new Cross has interested him and has been found important and "valuable in more aspects than one."

V.

Who were the Malabar Coast Christians?—Now the question is: Who were the Christians who put up Crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions in the Churches? It is rather difficult to say positively, who they were. There are various traditions about the first advent of the Christians to the shores of India.

There is the tradition, noted by Marco Polo, who has, in his book of travels, said that Malabar was the place where St. Thomas,

²⁶ Mr. Ayyar's reference is to the article, entitled "Three Inscriptions of Sthānu Ravi," in vol. 2, part 1, pp. 60-86 of the said series.

one of the twelve apostles of Christ, lies buried.²⁷ There is a difference of opinion as to whether the St. Thomas, who is associated with the early Christians of India, was the apostle himself or a later saint. Some even connected at one time the Pahlavi Cross in the Church of St. Thomé with the Apostle St. Thomas. We read on this point :

“ In repairing a hermitage which here existed, in 1547, the workmen came upon a stone slab with a Cross and inscription carved upon it. The story speedily developed itself that this was the Cross which had been embraced by the dying Apostle, and its miraculous virtues soon obtained great fame. It was eventually set up over an altar in the church of Madonna, which was afterwards erected on the Great Mount, and there it still exists. A Brahman imposter professed to give an interpretation of the inscription as relating to the death of St. Thomas, etc., and this was long accepted.”²⁸

Anquetil Du Perron on the Malabar Coast Christians.—Anquetil Du Perron, in his *Zend-Avesta*, in his account of his visit to Cochin on 31st December 1757, speaks at some length on the subject of the Christians.²⁹ I quote here from my paper on Anquetil Du Perron read before this Society:³⁰

“ Anquetil’s description of Cochin shows that the city and the surrounding district formed a great centre of trade at that time. Some of the Europeans who lived there were literary persons. There were also many learned Christian priests. There were a number of Christian Churches built by the several European communities that traded with India. Anquetil visited Veraple, which was the seat of the Apostolic Vicar of the Malabar Coast. His description of the Christians of this district will be found somewhat interesting to the students of the history of the spread of Christianity here. Even M. Florent, a head priest of the district, could not tell him how old was the Christian population there. At the time of Anquetil’s visit, there were about 200,000 Christians, of whom 50,000 were Roman Catholics, 100,000 Syrian Malabari Catholics, 50,000 other Syrian Christians (Syro-Malabares Schismatiques). The Latin or Roman Catholics again were divided into three classes : 1. Christians of St. Thomas. 2. The Topas, born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers, either by legal marriage or concubinage, who

²⁷ *Vide* the third edition of the translation of Yule, revised by Cordier (1903), p. 353.

²⁸ Third ed. of Marco Polo by Cordier. Notes, p. 358.

²⁹ Tome I, partie 1.

³⁰ “ Anquetil Du Perron of Paris. India as seen by him ”, pp. 19-20.

dressed as Europeans. Most of the domestic servants of the Dutch, the English and French in India belonged to this class. 3. The Moundukarens who were recently converted Malabari Christians and who dressed as natives of the land, and the Kouloukarens who were fishers and sailors.

The Time of the Inscription.—There remains the question as to the time when these Crosses were put up and this question is connected with the question as to who those Christians were who put them up. The very fact of the Crosses having Pahlavi inscriptions of the types we see, shows that, even if there had been some early settlements of Christians on the Malabar Coast at the time of the advent of St. Thomas the Apostle, these Crosses are not their offerings. They belong to some later times. Dr. West says on this subject:

“Regarding the date of the Pahlavi Inscriptions nothing very definite can be ascertained from the forms of the letters . . . All the peculiarities can be found in the Kanheri Pahlavi inscriptions of 10th October and 24th November 1009, and 30th October 1021 ; and some of them in the Pahlavi signatures of witnesses on a copper-plate grant to the Syrian Church in Southern India which has been attributed to the ninth century.”³¹

Dr. Burnell wrote:

“The characters and language are nearly those of the books, but are not by any means of the earliest period. If one may judge by the legends on coins, the dates of which are known, the earliest of these inscriptions may belong to the 7th or 8th century. The earliest appears to be the ones at the Mount and in the south wall of the Kottayam old church, the latest that behind a side altar in the same church and on which is also a sentence in Syriac in the ordinary Estrangelo character, to judge by facsimiles of MSS. of a period not older than the 10th century. At all events, these Crosses are long subsequent to the time of the Apostle St. Thomas.”³²

I agree with these scholars, and think, that the inscriptions belong to times much posterior to Apostle St. Thomas. I think there is a very great likelihood of their belonging to the 7th and 8th century after Christ. In this connection, I wish to draw special attention of the students of this question to what Anquetil Du Perron has said about a tradition that he had heard. I will quote him at some length :

³¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 4, p. 176. ³² Reprint in the *Indian Antiquary*.

“Quelle est donc l'origine du Christianisme dans l'Inde ? Je crois que cette question ne peut être décidée par les Monuments qui existent actuellement dans cette Contrée. Ce qu'on dit d'un Mage, qui avoit le titre de *Mannuca vasser* (mot qu'on prétend singlier *Manicheen*), et qui passa dans l'Inde où il répandit sa doctrine, ne m'a été confirmé par aucun Chrétien de Saint Thomas, Catholique, ni Schismatique. Mais, sans m'arrêter aux autorités vraies ou supposées, je dis que ceux qui connoissent l'Orient ne trouveront rien d'impossible, ni même d'extraordinaire dans l'Apostolat de Saint Thomas aux Indes Orientales. Les Caravanes de Syrie pour Bassora, marchaient alors comme à présent. Les Arabes alloient aux Indes tous les ans et débarquoient aux environs des lieux nommés maintenant Calicut & Mazulpatam. J'ajoute que, selon une opinion reçue dans le Pays, plusieurs Chrétiens de Chaldée, fuyant, dans le septième siècle, la persécution des Mahométans s'embarquèrent à Bassora, & vinrent s'établir parmi les Chrétiens de Saint Thomas’.”³³

This statement of Anquetil seems to present the possibility of two views. These Crosses may be the work of some Persian Christians who had taken to Manichaeism and who, therefore, in order to avoid the persecution in their own country, had fled from there under the leadership of a Zoroastrian Magi, who also had turned to be a follower of Mani and settled on the shores of India.

Dr. Burnell has in his above-mentioned paper, referred to these Manichaeans and has even pointed to a place in Malabar as deriving its name from Mani.

But I think that there is reason to believe that these Crosses were not put up by Manichaean Christians, or Christian Manichaeans, because the history of the Manichaeans and of the Albigenses, who were an offshoot of the Manichaeans, shows that the Manichaeans were persecuted by the orthodox Christians on the ground that they were not true followers of Christ. Manichaeism was a mixture of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and even of Buddhism. One may say that in spite of their not being true orthodox Christians, they believed in Christ. But what we know of the tenets of Manichaeism does not permit us to believe that they had that faith in the personality of Christ as a redeemer of afflictions, as seems to have been evinced by the offerers of the Crosses in question, in the Pahlavi inscriptions.

³³ *Zend-A vesta*, Ouvrage de Zoroastre tome premier, première partie, p. 179.

So, I think that the Christians who offered the Crosses were the Christians referred to by Anquetil in the last part of the above extract. They were the Christians who had to leave Persia, like the Zoroastrians, to escape from the persecutions of the Arab invaders of Persia. We must bear in mind that here, it is not only the question of Anquetil's own view. He speaks of what he had heard in Malabar itself. I therefore think that the Crosses may be the offerings of some of the Christians who had come to the shores of India in the middle or latter part of the seventh century and in the eighth century, owing to the persecution of the Arabs, and, in referring to the afflictions of Christ, they allude to their own afflictions of being compelled to leave their country for their faith.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this first attempt at reading and translation sent to Mr. Ayyar and after I announced my paper, I have seen in the Indian *Academy* of June 1924 (p. 122) what is called a photo-lith with "scale one-third," given by Mr. T. K. Joseph with a short Note, wherein he gives in a foot-note my foregoing translation as sent by me to the Superintendent of Archæology of Travancore. If that be a litho from a clearer photo, I should like to modify my reading a little in the third line, though that will not make any important change in the meaning. My reading of the third line from this larger photo is as follows:

[Am... (?) Meshihā avakhshāhi min bim bokht.]

TRANSLATION.

"I whom... (?) Messiah, the forgiver, freed from danger (or terror)."

The modification consists of the following:

(a) The reading of the foot word as *am* in place of *li*. This makes no change in the meaning.

(b) I get doubtful about the word preceding Messiah which I first read as *ahlob*, i.e., 'holy.'

(c) I read the last but one word as *bim* instead of *khar*; but this modification in the reading of the word makes no important change in the sense.

September, 1924.

EIGHTEEN REMARKABLE THINGS OR EVENTS OF THE REIGN (593-628 A.C.) OF KHUSRU PARVIZ (CHOSROES II) OF PERSIA.

(Read on 11th March 1924.)

Introduction.

I.

THERE IS A SMALL Pahlavi treatise known as “Mādigān-i Binā-Fravardīn yūm-i Khurdād,” *i.e.*, “an account of month Fravardīn, day Khurdād.” It is referred to by Dr. E. West as “Mādigān-i mäh Fravardīn roz Khurdād” in his article on the Pahlavi Literature.¹ It describes the remarkable events said to have occurred on the Khurdād-sāl day, from the beginning of the creation upto now, and says, that even the Resurrection day will fall on that day. This Khurdād-sāl day now falls in September. It is still observed with some eclat by the Parsees and is declared as a Public Holiday by Government.

In this Pahlavi treatise, we read the following reference to 18 remarkable things or events of the reign of Khusru Parviz (*i.e.* Khusru the Victorious), known by Western writers as Chosroes II his grand-father Naushīrwān ‘Ādil (*i.e.*, Naushīrwān the Just) being known as Chosroes I. (sec. 27)

۱۸ تا ۱۷ تا ۱۶ تا ۱۵ تا ۱۴ تا ۱۳ تا ۱۲ تا ۱۱ تا ۱۰ تا ۹ تا ۸ تا ۷ تا ۶ تا ۵ تا ۴ تا ۳ تا ۲ تا ۱ تا
 ۱۸ تا ۱۷ تا ۱۶ تا ۱۵ تا ۱۴ تا ۱۳ تا ۱۲ تا ۱۱ تا ۱۰ تا ۹ تا ۸ تا ۷ تا ۶ تا ۵ تا ۴ تا ۳ تا ۲ تا ۱ تا
 ۱۸ تا ۱۷ تا ۱۶ تا ۱۵ تا ۱۴ تا ۱۳ تا ۱۲ تا ۱۱ تا ۱۰ تا ۹ تا ۸ تا ۷ تا ۶ تا ۵ تا ۴ تا ۳ تا ۲ تا ۱ تا

¹ *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Band II, pp. 75 et seq. *Vide* p. 111 for the reference to the text of the events. The Text is published in *The Pahlavi Texts* by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji (pp. 102 et seq.). It is translated by Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume* (pp. 122 et seq.), edited by me. An incomplete Persian version of the treatise is found in the *Rivayets* (*vide* Dastur Darab Hormuzdyar's *Rivayet* by M. R. Ustada, with my Introduction, Vol. II, p. 49).

Translation : In the month of Fravardin, on the day Khordād, 18 things² came (or occurred) to Khusru, the son of Hormazd during 18 years.

The Pahlavi treatise does not say what the particular 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign were. Again, it does not say which particular 18 years of Khusru's long reign of 38 years (590-628 A.C.) are meant as those during which the things or events occurred. There is no other writing, Pahlavi or Persian, as far as I know, which enumerates and determines these 18 things or events.

I was led to the study of this subject by an interesting article entitled, "Note sur une Tapisserie Arabe du VIII^e siècle " by M. E. Blochet in the October 1923 issue (pp. 613-17) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. M. Blochet describes the Arab Tapestry and illustrates his description with a plate, representing a piece of the tapestry in the collection of M. E. Gêjou of Paris. He traces the design to an original Persian carpet of Khusru Parviz. He thus refers to it :

"The Mahomedan historians, (both) Arab and Persian, have preserved for us in their chronicles, a tradition, according to which the army of Sa'd, which seized Ctésiphon in 637 (A. C.) found in the palace of the King of Persia a carpet of gigantic dimensions, the history of which seems to be a legend borrowed from (the book of) *The Thousand and One Nights*. The subjects of the Sassanian monarch called this carpet 'The Spring of Khusru' and the Arabs, who had never seen at Mecca or Medina an object with which they could compare it, gave it the name of al-Kathif *i.e.*, the Carpet."³

² The Pahlavi word for "things" used in this passage is *mandavam* or (*mindavm*), traditionally read as *mandum*. It means "a thing, something, anything, a matter, an affair, a concern, property." Its Pazend synonym is *chush* Pers. چش (West-Haug's *Glossary of Vīrūf-Nāmeh*, p. 221).

³ "Les historiens musulmans, arabes et persans, nous ont conservé dans leurs chroniques une tradition suivant laquelle l'armée du Sa'd, qui s'empara de Ctésiphon, en 637, trouva dans le palais du roi de Perse un tapis de dimensions gigantesques, dont l'histoire semble une légende empruntée aux Mille et Une Nuits. (E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, dans les Publications de la Société Française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914—20, Page 137f.) Les sujets du monarque sassanide nommaient ce tapis 'le Printemps du

M. Blochet then describes the carpet and says that according to Arab historians, during the monotonous rigour of winter, the carpet gave to the King of Iran the illusion of the budding spring (*printemps naissant*). In winter, the king lived in the vaulted halls of the White Palace of Ctesiphon. There, he got this carpet spread on the pavements of the galleries and with his family in the midst of the groves, which were embroidered in gold and silk on the carpet, imagined to himself that he was enjoying the spring season. Hence, the carpet was named "the Spring of Khusru." When Ctesiphon fell, this carpet was captured by the Arab army and sent to Khalif Omar at Medina. There, it was broken up in pieces. M. Blochet says that the style of this carpet continued in Persian carpets up to the 16th century. M. Blochet then gives a plate illustrating a carpet in which the above style of embroidery was copied.

Now I think that the carpet of Khusru, known as the "Spring of Khusru" referred to by M. Blochet, as being one, the style of which served as a model for a long time, was one of the 18 remarkable things of the reign of Khusru Parviz⁴ referred to in the above Pahlavi treatise. The object of this paper, therefore, is to determine, as said above, the 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign and the period of 18 years during which they occurred. First of all, I will determine, what we may call, the fortunate 18 years of Khusru's reign.

II.

The Fortunate 18 years of Khusru's reign.

Khusru Parviz was one of the most unfortunate as well as one of the most fortunate kings of Persia. As said by Nöldeke on the

Chosroes,' et les Arabes, qui, à la Mecque et à Médine, n'avaient jamais vu un objet qu'on lui put comparer, lui donnèrent le nom de al-Kathif 'le Tapis',

⁴ Old Arab writers like Mas'ûdi and Ṭabari, give the name as (ابر ویز) *abarwiz*. The word seems to be originally something like *Av. apara*, (far off,) and *viz* or rather *vis* विस् (to be or become or to come), i.e., one who reaches far off; then victorious. Nöldeke (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 275 n.) thus traces it: *aparwæg*, *aparwêz*, (neu-Pers.) *abarwêz* (arab *abariz*—oder *abarwaz*) oder *parwêz* "siegreich" (victorious).

authority of Tabari, Khusru Parviz "was one of the Persian kings, who, in valor, prudence and distant military expeditions, was the most prominent."⁵ The reign of Khusru Parviz was a reign in which Persia had come into great contact with the later Roman Empire. The history of the times of Emperor Maurice, his murderer and his successor Phoceon and of his successor Heraclius, is greatly connected with the history of Persia in the time of Khusru. Again, some of the 18 things or events in the 18 years of his reign are associated with both the history of Persia and the history of the Roman Empire. So, a brief narration of the historical relations between the two countries seems to be necessary to understand our subject well and to enable us to determine the 18 years and the 18 events or things.

Khusru came to the throne of Persia in 590 A. C. when his father Hormazd was deposed and put to death at Ctesiphon. Then for six more years he was not secure on his throne and had to look after the dangerous conspirators of his own court and country, the very men who had revolted against his father and murdered him. In these early years, he had to run away to the Court of the Roman Emperor Maurice, who not only helped him, but, according to Masūdi, Firdausi and other writers, gave him, in marriage, his daughter Mary (ماریه).⁶ By the treaty of alliance which was the result of the marriage,⁷ Khusru gave up to the Roman Emperor his rights on the country of Egypt and Syria which his grandfather Naushirwān had conquered.

⁵ "Dies war einer der persischen Könige, welche durch Tapferkeit, Klugheit and weite Kriegzüge, am meisten hervorragten." (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, von Th. Nöldeke (1879), p. 275.)

⁶ Masūdi transl. B. de Meynard, II, p. 221.

⁷ With reference to this marriage of a Zoroastrian king with a Christian princess, Masūdi refers to the custom of the kings of Iran which required that an Iranian can marry the girl of a non-Iranian but not give an Iranian girl in marriage to a non-Iranian. He points, as analogy for a similar custom, to the Korachites. He says: "Le roi de Perse pouvaient épouser les filles des rois étrangers; mais ils ne voulaient pas de ces rois pour gendres, parce qu'ils se considéraient comme d'une race plus libre

Gibbon, in his long account of Khusru's relations with Maurice, does not refer to this marriage, but according to him, the relations between Khusru and Maurice were like those of a son and father. He speaks of Maurice as Khusru's "adopted father"⁸ and of Khusru as his son. So, the relationship, if not of father-in-law and son-in-law, was certainly something like that of an adopted father and son. Khusru remained faithful to the Roman Emperor Maurice till the end of his life when he was killed in the revolution of Phocas. Then he helped his son Theodosius. In fact, his subsequent war with Rome was to avenge, as it were, the insult that Rome, instigated by Phocas, had done to his adopted father.⁹

Now, just as Khusru and his father had to suffer at the hands of rebels in their country, Emperor Maurice had to do the same. He fell at the hands of Phocas (603 A.C.), who seized the throne of the Roman Empire. By this time Khusru had established himself on his throne, and was in a position strong enough to avenge the death of Maurice. He helped Theodosius, the son of Maurice, who had fled and sought his shelter. He on behalf of Theodosius, declared war against the Roman Emperor Heraclius, who was, at one time, the Governor of Africa, and who, overthrowing Phocas, the usurper, in 610 A.C., had come to the throne. In the next year, Khusru Parviz invaded Syria and took Antioch and Apamea. He invaded Cappadocia in 612 A.C. In 614 A.C., he took Damascus. He then enlisted 26,000 Jews in his army and raised a general war against the Christians, and going to Palestine, took Jerusalem and captured the holy cross on which Christ was crucified. In 616, his general Shahr Baraz, crossing the desert, went over to Egypt

et plus noble. Les Persans entrent dans de longs détails sur cet usage qui offre de l'analogie avec les privilèges des Koreïchites et leur titre de Hamas (braves.)" (Ibid.)

⁸ *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1844), Vol. III, p. 238.

⁹ It was said that the influence of the relationship with Maurice had turned Khusru a little to Christianity. If so, it may have been for a short time only. According to Gibbon, the pregnancy of this beloved wife of his, whom he calls "Sira or Schirin" and who was a devout Christian, was ascribed to the King's devotion to the Christian bishop Sergius (Ibid.). On his return to Persia, Khusru is said to have had 1,000 picked Roman soldiers as his bodyguard.

and captured Pelusium and Alexandria. Thus, after about 900 years, Persia regained Egypt which was first conquered by the Achæmenians. In 617, Khusru's second army, which had invaded Cappadocia, besieged Chalcedon, situated on the Bithynian coast opposite to Constantinople. Heraclius sued for peace on the advice of the Persian general Sain but in vain. Khusru got enraged against his general for the above advice. Chalcedon fell in 617 A.C. With this victory, Persia extended its sway over all the regions once ruled over by the Achæmenians. The great Roman Empire was now reduced merely to the city of Constantinople and some stray tracts of country in Italy, Greece and Africa. And according to the saying that, at times, misfortunes do not come singly, the Avars, an offshoot of the Old Hun race, invaded Thrace and threatened Constantinople itself. Being hard pressed on all sides, Heraclius thought of leaving Constantinople and going to Carthage in Africa, the region of his former governorship. So during this time of various difficulties, he embarked all his treasures on board the ships to be carried away, before him, to Africa, his proposed destination of flight. When *Tabari* speaks of Abyssinia as the country to which the Roman treasures were sent, the country meant was Africa, of which Abyssinia was then an important part. But another misfortune followed. The fleet of ships carrying his treasures to Africa was wafted by adverse winds to a Persian port in Asia Minor and the great Roman treasure fell into the hands of Khusru. At home, another misfortune overtook Heraclius. The news of his proposed flight to Africa became known to the people whom he wanted to desert in their difficulties and they all rose against him under the Patriarch of Constantinople. They prevented him from running away and the Patriarch made him swear in the famous church of St. Sophia, that he would stick to his country and not run away.

What stood by his side in the midst of all his misfortunes was his maritime power. With the help of this power, he went to the Armenian frontiers and defeated the Persian army there in 622 A.C. and returned victorious to Constantinople. The next year (623), he again marched against the Persians—this time with the allied help of the Khazars, another offshoot of the Huns. He

won a great victory and destroyed several Persian towns and places, one of the most important of which was the city on Lake Urumiah (Chæchista of the Avesta), where burned one of the most sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians. He destroyed the great Fire-temple and avenged, as said by Nöldeke, the fall of Jerusalem.

In 624, the Persian army under Shahr Baraz was defeated in Armenia. In 625 Shahr Baraz was again defeated in Cilicia. In 626, Khusru took into his alliance the Khān of the Avars and made a powerful attempt to turn the tide of his defeat. He stood well in the land fight near Tiflis. His allies, the Avars, had attacked Constantinople, but owing to want of sea-power, the Persians could not render any substantial help, in time, to the Avars. So, the attack on Constantinople failed.

In 627, Heraclius attacked Dastgard, the city of Khusru's residence, about 70 miles north of Ctesiphon, and, after a stubborn fight in several places, won the final victory against Khusru. This defeat brought about a revolution in Khusru's country. He had further made himself unpopular by misbehaving with two generals, who, though fighting bravely under unfortunate circumstances, lost battles. His nobles rose against him and he was put into prison and later on murdered. (628 A.C.).

Thus, we see that the fortunate successful years of Khusru commenced from 604, when he began to wage a successful war against Rome under Phocus, who had murdered the preceding Roman Emperor, and ended in 622 when Heraclius turned the scales of victory against him.

III.

The Eighteen Remarkable Things or Events.

Now, we come to the subject of the 18 remarkable things or events which occurred during the above 18 years. As said above, though we do not find any regular enumeration in any work, Pahlavi or Persian, we are in a position to make up an approximate though not a sure and certain list from various sources.

First of all, it is the Arab historian Tabari who refers to a number of these remarkable events of Khusru's reign. The subject

forms, according to his translator, Zotenberg,¹⁰ the 55th chapter of the second part of his work.

Tabari's List of some of the 18 things.

In the Persian Version of Tabari's work there is a separate chapter, headed : ¹¹

در ذکر پادشاهی کردن خسرو پرویز که کسری خوانند

(i.e., in the matter of the reign of Khusru Parviz who is called Ksar). Therein, we have an account of some of his very rare unique possessions. Zotenberg has very properly headed the chapter as that of Khusru's Treasures (richesses).¹² In this chapter of Tabari, we have a mention of the following rare possessions of Khusru's reign. I will first enumerate them and will then describe them in some details.

1. A rich golden throne known as Tākdis.
2. A rich crown.
3. A very swift Roman horse, known as Shabdiz.
4. A young girl of surprising beauty, known as Shīrīn.
5. An enormous treasure, known as Bādverd, which was captured from the Roman Emperor.
6. A stable of 50,000 horses, camels and mules.
7. 1,000 elephants.
8. A harem containing 12,000 women including free and slave women.
9. 12,000 white camels known as Turkish camels.
10. A towel made of malleable gold.
11. Two great musicians named Bārboud and Sergius.
12. A rich carpet (mentioned in a separate chapter by Tabari).

¹⁰ Tabari, transl. Zotenberg II, pp. 364-5. For the Arabic text of the reign of Khusru, spoken of by Tabari as *کسری پرویز* Ksar Abarviz vide "Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at Tabari cum alis edidit M. J. de Goeje. Prima Series II, recensuerunt J. Barth et Th. Noldeke (1881-82)" p. 1009.

¹¹ Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 359.

¹² Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304.

These things form the list of Khusru's very rare valuable possessions as given by Ṭabari.¹³ I will now describe these in some detail :

The first unique thing which Khusru possessed was a golden throne named Tākdis.¹⁴ It had a height of 110 cubits¹⁵ (ارش) having its four feet of red rubies. At the end

1. *A rich Golden Throne.* of each foot there were 100 pearls, each of the size of the egg of a sparrow (*kunjishk*). Fir-

dausi gives a long description of this throne.

He first refers to a throne of the kings of Persia which was first got constructed by Faridun through an architect named Jahn Barzin (جهرن برزین). Faridun had possessed three valuable things : 1. A cow-shaped mace (*gurz-i gāvsār*) ; 2. A jewel, named *haft-chashma* (i.e., seven-eyed or seven-sided) ; and 3. This throne. The kings who succeeded him, one by one, added to the beauty of the throne by putting on it additional jewels. It came down upto the time of Alexander who destroyed it and Firdausi calls this a "senseless work" (*bi-dānashī*) on Alexander's part. When Ardeshir (Babegān) ascended the throne, he heard of it and collecting the remains or broken parts of the old throne reconstructed another throne, which, later on, was embellished by Noshirwān (Chosroes I). Khusru Parviz, on coming to the throne of Persia, thought of reconstructing it (*ke ān nāmvar takht rā nao kunam*). He heard that there were old records to show that king Gushtāsp had thought of constructing a throne on the advice and design of his minister Jāmāsp. He sent for the records and proceeded to construct another grand throne with the help of his architects

¹³ I have followed in this enumeration, not Nawal Kishore's Text, which is much abridged, but Zotenberg's version (Vol. II, pp. 304-5, Chap. 55).

¹⁴ Lit. "like (دیس *dis*) an arch."

¹⁵ Ṭabari, Text, *op. cit.*, p. 359, last line. Zotenberg, p. 304. Firdausi gives 170 cubits. A cubit is about 18 inches.

¹⁶ Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 2004 *et seq.* I give my translation from this text. *Vide* Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 249, *et seq.* Kutar Brothers' Shah-nāmah, Vol. X, p. 74. Dastur Minocheher's Trans., Vol. IX, p. 499.

assisted by those from Roum (Constantinople), Chint-Mekran and Bagdad. 1,120 artizans, with 30 apprentices under each, worked for two years over the throne. The throne was 120 *rash*¹⁷ (i.e., cubits) in breadth. The height of the throne was greater than the breadth. On each of the 30 days of the month, different kinds of carpets (*farsh*) were spread upon it. It was made of ten parts (*lakht*) with 140,000 paintings with turquoises set on a golden surface. The clasps and nails were all of silver. The throne was put upon the ground of a race-course (*asp-ris*) and the surroundings were artistically prepared, so that, with the position of the sun in the different constellations, different garden landscapes presented themselves. It was provided with sufficient warm curtains or screens (*tāq*)¹⁸ for the winter. Again a thousand golden and silver balls were kept on it, and, they, being heated by some contrivance, diffused heat. Each of the balls weighed 500 *misqāls*.¹⁹ Half the number (i.e., 500) of the balls were in turn kept on the throne to give warmth and half the number were in turn carried to the fire to be heated. The throne was mathematically or astronomically so arranged in the midst of its surroundings, that those sitting on it could know by what they saw, the position of the moon in the heavens at the time and calculated what time of night it was. The whole structure consisted of three stages, one over the other, all the three standing on a platform. The throne-seats of all the stages were decorated with rich jewels. Four steps led from one stage to the higher. All the steps were of gold and were bedecked with jewels. The first part or stage of the throne was called *mish-sār* (i.e., sheep-like), because it had the facing of a sheep. The second was called *lājward* (i.e., of lapis lazuli). The third stage of the throne was made of *pirouzeh* (i.e., turquoise). On the public occasions when the court was held, the lower *mish-sār* stage or platform of the throne was occupied by the commoners (*dahkān va zir dastān*, i.e., the villagers and the subordinates); the *lājvardi* platform was occupied by the higher

¹⁷ A *rash* or cubit is one and a half foot. So, the breadth of the throne came to 180 ft.

¹⁸ cf. Gujarati તાલ.

¹⁹ A *misqāl* is one and three-seventh dram in weight.

military classes. The highest platform of turquoise was occupied by the Dastur or the Prime Minister.

It appears from the above description of the throne by Firdausī, that it was not an ordinary throne but a huge piece of structure with platforms or stages rising one over another, over the uppermost of which sat the king himself with his prime minister by his side.

Khusru's second rare possession, according to Ṭabarī, was a

2. *A Rich Crown.* very rich crown. It was a crown having 100 pearls, each of the size of a bird's egg.²⁰

The third valuable possession of Khusru was a horse named Shab-diz, *i.e.*, the night-coloured or dark-coloured (horse).

It was "taller than any (other horse) in the world, being four cubit-measures (*zara'*). It had come to his hands from Roum.²¹ When it was shod on its 'hands and feet,'²² the shoe had to be fastened with 8 nails on each. Shab-diz ate the same food which Khusru Parviz ate. When the horse died they sculptured his features in stone."²³

The next rare and valuable possession of Khusru was Shīrīn. The story of Khusru and Shīrīn has been the subject of the poetical writings of more than one Persian poet. Ṭabarī speaks of her as "a girl (*kanizak*) named Shīrīn than whom no Turkish or Arab person had a more beautiful and comely face.

This Shīrīn was one, of whom Farhād was enamoured and for whom he excavated and broke the mountain of Bīsātūn. Each piece of stone which Farhād broke from the mountain was so large

²⁰ Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304. The way in which Ṭabarī gives his account may possibly make one doubtful, whether to take this as a separate possession.

²¹ Constantinople.

²² Dast va pai. The front feet are spoken of as hands.

²³ I have translated this from Naval Kishore's edition of Ṭabarī p. 360 ll. 1-3. According to the Text which Zotenberg has followed, Ṭabarī said that the sculpture stood at Kirmanshah upto his time (Hijri 224 to 310; A.C. 838 to 922). Masūdi also

that 10 men, nay even 100, could not lift up and these (stones) are still lying there now (lit even to-day that is so).”²⁴

Parviz possessed a Treasure called Bād-varḍ (*i.e.*, carried away by the wind).²⁵ It is said that the King of Roum was sending to Abyssinia his immense treasure for safety as

5. *The Treasure* a powerful enemy was about to invade his
known as Bāḍvard. country. Adverse winds wafted the boats, about 1,000, carrying the treasures to the shores of Persia and Khusru seized them. We find from our above brief historical account that this Bāḍward (wind-carried) treasure was the treasure which Heraclius was stealthily sending away from Constantinople to Africa. Tabarī says that the adverse winds carried the treasure boats to “the shores of Oman in the territories of Persia.” But from the brief history of Persia and Rome during

says the same thing. He says: “C’est le cheval qu’on voit sculpté sur le montagne de Kermasin” (Kirmanchah). Masūdi speaks of the horse as Shabdār شبدار (Maḡoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard II, pp. 215-16). Mas’ūdi gives the following story about the horse: Once when the king was riding on it, the rein broke. He sent for the master of his equipage and was going to cut off his head to punish him for his negligence in not looking well after the saddle of the horse, when the man said: “Sire, nothing can stand against the king of men and against the king of horses,” meaning thereby that it was the strength of the horse and the rider which led to violent riding and brought about the breaking of the reins. This was indirectly a compliment to the king and to his horse. The king was pleased and gave him his life. According to Gibbon, his two favourite horses were “Shebdiz and Barid” (*Op. cit.*, III, p. 251). The sculpture forms a part of the well-known sculptures of Taq-i Bostān. (After writing the above, I had the pleasure of visiting this sculpture during my tour in Persia *via* Russia. *Vide* my book of Travels (*ماری و آذربایجان و گیلان و روسیه* ۱۳۲۶ p. 357).

²⁴ *i.e.*, in the time of Tabarī. I have followed Naval Kishore’s Text, p. 360 l. 4. Local tradition, even now, connects Farhād with Bisatūn, but the Inscription on the Mount shows that the sculptures belonged to Darius. *Vide* my Books of Travels (*op. cit.* pp. 363-368), published since writing the above.

²⁵ I give an account of this and some subsequent remarkable things on the authority of Zotenberg (*Op. cit.* II, p. 305.). Naval Kishore’s abridged text does not refer to them. The word Bād-varḍ may be taken either as باد برد, *i.e.*, carried by wind or باد آورد, *i.e.*, brought by wind.

these times which we have traced above, it appears that Tabari is wrong in saying that the treasure was wafted to the sea or gulf of Oman. Gibbon, who seems to speak resting on other authorities, is right in saying that it was wafted into one of the Syrian ports possessed by Persia.²⁶

Khusru possessed 50,000 horses, camels and mules, out of which he had 8,000 for his own personal use. Now the mere possession of a large number of horses, &c.—and in fact the number is not unusually large—should not make it a rare possession. So, a further statement of Mas'ūdi on the subject makes the point clear. He says: "His stable included 50,000 horses or beasts of burden; all the horses which formed his cortege had a saddle of gold enriched with precious stones and pearls."²⁷

He possessed 1,000 elephants.²⁸ Mas'ūdi²⁹ explains as to what the rarity in this possession was. He says that the elephants were whiter than snow, some of them were 12 cubits³⁰ in height. He adds that this height is very rare for war-elephants, the average being between 9 and 10 cubits and that the kings of India paid very high prices for any elephant of greater height than the above average. He adds in passing that the elephants of *zanj* (زنج) have still higher statures. Their tusks at times weigh 150 to 200 maunds (من), each maund weighing two ratals (رطل) i.e. pounds of Bagdad. Mas'ūdi further adds that when

²⁶ Gibbon (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251) thus refers to this treasure of Badvard: "The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults: and the chamber *Buda-verd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival."

²⁷ I translate from the French of Barbier de Meynard's *Maçoudi* Vol. II, p. 230. Mas'ūdi speaks of Khosru Parviz as ابرويز which Barbier de Meynard reads as Eberviz. I think Mas'ūdi read the izafat of the words Khosru-i Parviz with the last word which he read Barviz instead of Parviz.

²⁸ Gibbon says: "Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king." (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251.)

²⁹ Barbier de Meynard. *op. cit.* II. 230.

³⁰ i.e. about 18 ft.

the king reviewed his army, these 1,000 elephants, when they passed before him, lowered their heads and folded their trunks and remained in that posture till their drivers drew their ropes and said some words in their Indian language. The king often regretted that the elephants were not the products of Persia. He admired much their intelligence.³¹

8. *Khusru's Maid-servants.* Khusru had twelve thousand women, both free and slave, serving as maid-servants in his palaces.³²

He possessed 12,000 white camels. Gibbon³³ says on this subject: "His tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size."

9. *A stable of 12,000 camels.* One of the rarest things possessed by Khusru was a handkerchief for cleaning his hands, made out of malleable gold, *i.e.*, gold which was extended by beating into very thin sheets. When the handkerchief got dirty, it was thrown into fire where it did not burn and got its dirty stains and spots cleared.

10. *A Towel of Malleable Gold.* He had at his Court distinguished musicians like Bārboud and Sargash. We do not find any account of these musicians in Tabarī, but we learn the following from Fir-dausī: There was a musician of the name of Sargash. He was happy (or joyous) in music.

11. *Two distinguished Musicians at his Court.* He invoked blessings upon the king in his song (or on his musical instrument *rūd*) and gave many benedictions to the Emperor. Great men threw jewels over him (*i.e.*, were much pleased with him) and called him Farr-i Buzorgi, *i.e.*, 'the

³¹ Mas'ūdī adds his own admiration of the size, intelligence, docility and patience of the Indian elephants. He says they have a tact of discerning the desires of their masters and they distinguish a king from others. *Zanj* seems to be Zanzibar.

³² Gibbon says: "The service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves." In this number, there were "three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia." (Gibbon, *op. cit.* III, p. 251.)

³³ *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 251.

splendour of greatness.’³⁴ I have given above my own translation of Firdausi. As my translation and other translations³⁵ all differ a little, I give here the lines in the original to enable students to form their own opinion.

یکی مطربی بود سرگش بنام
برامشگری در شده شاد کام
همی آفرین خواند سرگش برود
شهنشاه را داد چندی درود
بزرگان برو گوهر افشانده
نه فر بزرگیش میخواندند

Firdausi then says that in the 28th year of Khusru’s reign (618 A. C.) Bārbad, a great singer, came to the court of Persia. Sargash who commanded great influence in the Court, hearing of his arrival got a little afraid, lest the singing of this new-comer, who had made his name outside the court, would undermine his influence with the king, and tried to keep him out of the Court, even going to the length of bribing the chamberlain for that purpose. We further learn from Firdausi that this Bārbad was a foreigner. He went to the court of Khusru from his own country (*ze keshvar beshud tā ba dargāh-i-shāh*). Thus it seems that both these singers were foreigners. Sargash was a Christian divine and Bārbad also may be a Christian bishop.

As to this musician Sargash (سرگش), I think, that he was the same as the St. Sergius of the Western writers. We know that there was a martyr named St. Sergius to whom Khusru was attached. Gibbon refers to some preliminary inclination of the king towards Christianity, the result of the influence of Maurice whom he calls his “adopted father,” and then says: “The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local super-

³⁴ Macan’s (Calcutta ed.), Vol. IV, p. 2008. Mohl (small ed.), Vol. VII, p. 259.

³⁵ *Vide* the small edition of M. Mohl’s French Translation, Vol. VII, p. 255. Warner’s Vol. VIII, p. 397. Dastur Minocheher’s Vol. IV, p. 504, Kutar Brothers’ Vol. IX, p. 78.

stitious veneration for Sergius, one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams ; he enriched his shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to his invincible patron, the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian, and the best beloved of his wives. The beauty of Sira or Schirin, her wit, her musical talents, are still famous in the history or rather in the romance of the east.”³⁷ So, I think that the Sargash of the Oriental writers is no other than Bishop Sergius. Again, let us take a note of what Firdausi says of Sargash’s song. He recited in his song benedictions and blessings. Again, I think, that the title Farr-i Buzargi referred to by Firdausi is a rendering of something like “ His Reverence.” All these facts lead me to conclude that Sargash and Sergius were the same persons.

We saw above, that in one place (Chap. 55 of Zotenberg) Tabari has referred to eleven rare things or events connected with the name of Khosru Parviz. He has referred

12. *A Rich Carpet.* referred to them under the head of Khusru’s treasures, “ ses richesses,” as said by Zotenberg on the authority of his text of Tabari. But we find, that Tabari has referred to a twelfth rare rich thing in another part of his work in his account of the defeat of the last Sassanian monarch Yazdagard. While describing all the treasures that fell into the hands of the Arabs, he thus describes a carpet which fell into their hands and which he names “ the Spring of Khusru : ”³⁸

اندر خزانه فرشی یافتند سید ارش بالا اندر و شست ارش
 مهنا و آنرا دستانی خواندند و ملکان عجم آنرا باز کردند و
 بران نشستندی بدان وقت که اندر جهان سبزی نمانده بود و هر
 ده ارش ازان بگوهرهای دیگر بافته و ده ارش زمرد سبز و
 ده ارش بگوهر سفید و ده ارش یاقوت سرخ و ده ارش
 یاقوت کبود و ده ارش یاقوت زرد و هر کس که بدان اندر

³⁷ *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 238.

³⁸ Zotenberg, *op. cit.* III, p. 417.

نگریستی پنداشتی که پری زاد است و از اندرون آن همه
گوهرها بدان در نشانده بودند و شکل هر چیزی که اندر جهان
اسیر آب و گل است و سبزیهای آن دروی نگارده بودند
سعد رضی الله عنه آنرا بنزدیک عمر رضی الله عنه فرستاد.....
و چون بمدینه رسید عمر رضی الله عنه بفرمود تا آنها را اندر
مسجد بنهادند³⁹

Translation.—In his treasures, they found a carpet 300 cubits long and 60 cubits broad. They called it Dastān. The kings of Persia spread it and sat on it at the time when there was nothing green in the world (*i.e.*, in winter). On every 10 cubits of it, they had woven different jewels and on 10 cubits green emeralds; on 10 cubits white jewels; on 10 cubits red rubies; on 10 cubits blue rubies: on 10 cubits yellow rubies. Whoever looked on it thought that it was fairy-born (*i.e.*, fairy-made). In it, jewels were set in, and pictures of all things which grow on earth and water and all green plants were woven in it. S'ad, on whom there may be the peace of God, sent it to Omar—may the peace of God be upon him. . . And when it arrived at Madineh, Omar—may the peace of God be upon him—ordered that all that should be placed in the Masjid.

I think, it is this carpet, which Firdausi describes at some length, in his account of the reign of Khusru.

Firdausi's Account of Carpet. It is after his account of the throne Tākdis that he refers to it. He says (I give my translation):

Translation.—A gold embroidered cloth was spread (over the throne). Its length was 57 hands.⁴⁰ All its strings were woven with jewels and it was woven with golden threads. The Signs of Heaven were marked on it (such as) Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the brilliant Moon, which all declared the good or the evil (fortune) of the king. Again, it has pictures of the seven regions, of the peasants and of the battles of heroes.

³⁹ Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of Tabari, p. 483 l.10.

⁴⁰ The measure is uncertain, but بال is used in the sense of "the upper hand" (Steingass).

Again there were portraits of forty-seven (preceding) kings with their (decorated) hands, crowns and thrones. The crown of kings was woven with gold and there never existed in the world a piece of cloth like this. There was a matchless man in China and he had woven the cloth during seven years. In the beginning of the new year, on the day Hormazd; (month) Farvardin he came before the King of the land of Iran. He carried the carpet which was worthy of the Kaës (or the Kayānian kings) before the king. The great men (of the court) made way for him. He spread the carpet on the New Year day. The King was overjoyed with pleasure. He assembled his court in that capital and he sent for players of music and wine there.⁴¹

We find from the above account of Ṭabarī that the carpet was sent with other treasures by the Arab general S'ad who captured Ctesiphon to Khalif Omar and that Omar placed it in the Masjid at Medinah.⁴² It is this carpet to which M. Blochet refers, as said in the commencement of this paper. It was spread on the throne Tāqdis, referred to above.

Having described the 12 rare things referred to by Ṭabarī, we will now refer to some rarities referred to by other writers.

According to Maṣūdi⁴³ Khusru Parviz possessed a set of nine seals of a rare kind. Maṣoudi gives a pretty detailed description of them and refers to the different purposes for which they were used. I give below a table describing briefly the seal and its use.

13. *A. Set of 9* for which they were used. I give below a table
Seals, describing briefly the seal and its use.

Description.

Use.

1. A Diamond with a bezel of red ruby engraved with a portrait of the king. For letters and diplomas.

⁴¹ Macan IV, p. 2007, l. 20, Kutar Brothers X p. 77.

⁴² This event of sending the carpet to the Holy place reminds us of the present annual event of sending a carpet to the Holy city by the Khedive of Egypt. Perhaps this event was the origin or precursor of the modern annual event.

⁴³ Maṣūdi, par Barbier de Meynard, op. cit. II, p. 228.

2. Gold surmounted with a cornelean stone with a legend *Khorassan Khorah* (خراسان خره). For State archives.
3. Gold ornamented with onyx with the portrait of a galloping rider with the legend "Rapidity." For postal correspondence.
4. Gold with a bezel of rose-coloured ruby with the legend "Wealth is the source of prosperity." For diplomas and Letters of Indulgences.
5. Ruby of the *bahrmān* (بهرماني) species, the best of the red, pure, valuable kind with the legend *khoureh va khurram* (خره و خرم) i.e., splendid and auspicious. This was encased in pearls and diamonds. For sealing treasures of precious stones, royal caskets and wardrobe and crown ornaments.
6. One with a bezel of Chinese Iron representing an Eagle. For sealing despatches to foreign rulers.
7. One surmounted with a bezoar with a fly engraved on it. For sealing the dishes, medicine and perfumery intended for the king.
8. One with a bezel of pearls with the effigy of the head of a pig. For marking the necks of persons who were condemned to death and judicial decisions sentencing prisoners for capital punishment.
9. Of Iron. Used when the king retired for his bath.

I think that the palace which Khusru built and to which Firdausī refers at some length under a separate heading, entitled

14. *The Palace of Khusru at Madāyan.* *Aiwān sākhtan-i Khusru dar Madāyan, i.e.,* the building of a palace at Madāyan (Ctesiphon) by Khusru, should be taken as one

of the 18 great things or events of the reign of Khursu. According to Firdausī, ^{43a} he had sent for architects and artists from Roum, India, China and other countries to build this palace. He collected 3,000 masons and other artizans. Over these 3,000, he set 30 as superiors and over these thirty there were three—two Roumi or Byzantine and one Parsi, i.e., Persian, who were placed at the head of all. Then again, out of these three, one Byzantine was made the chief architect. This architect whose name was Fargāna laid the foundation, 10 royal *rash* i.e., 15 feet deep and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. After filling up the foundation and the upper structure of plinth, he got some measurements taken and got the measuring tape duly marked placed in the treasury of the king. He then, with the view that the foundation may be set properly, asked to postpone the work of superstructure. But the king wanted him to proceed with the work. The architect thought that there was danger of the foundation sinking and that the foundation must be allowed to set properly. But, when he found that the king was impatient, rather than run the risk of building a grand palace which may sink, he quietly left the court and fled to his country. The king got angry and asked other experts to proceed with the work but none undertook the risk of sinkage by proceeding with the work at once. The king got disheartened and left off the idea of proceeding with the work till another good architect was found. None capable to carry on the work could be found. So, no work was done for three years. The first Byzantine architect turned up again in the fourth year and explained the state of affairs to the king. He sent for the tape with the previous measurement, referred to above, from the treasury, and, measuring the foundation, plinth, &c., showed to the king that the

^{43a} Mohl small Edition VII, p. 260. Macan (IV p. 2011) gives the heading of the subject as "Sākhtan-i Khusrū Shehr-i Madāyan rā." Kutar Brothers, Vol. X, p. 81.

foundation had sunk a little, that after three years' postponement it had properly set itself, and that there was no risk of proceeding with the work now. The architect then took seven years to complete the work. The palace so constructed was an unique work of art.

It seems that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the architect to do the work slowly in order to let the foundation set properly, the palace twice suffered damage during the very lifetime of the King. According to Tabarī (Chapter 56, entitled *Mujīzāt-i Hazrat Paegambar* i.e., The Miracles of the Prophet), the fall of a part of one of the vaults of the palace of Ctesiphon, was taken to be a miracle in connection with the new religion of the Arab prophet intended, to show to Khusru, that he was wrong in not acknowledging the prophet.

The above 14 things or events present to us a splendid view of the grandeur and splendour of the Court of Khusru Parviz. Gibbon, while speaking of the luxurious life of Khusru at Ctesiphon and at Artaima, spoken of as Dastgard by oriental writers, thus refers to some of the remarkable things named in our above list.

Gibbon and Malcolm on the Riches of Khusru.

"Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels, and eight thousand of a smaller size; and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, the fairest of Asia The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber Badaverd denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and a thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and constellations of the Zodiac." 44

44 Vol. III, p. 251 (ed. of 1844).

Malcolm, in his *History of Persia* thus speaks of Khusru's luxury and magnificence. "(a) His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season ; (b) his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the hours of the day ; (c) his treasures⁴⁵ ; (d) his ladies, of whom there were twelve thousand every one, if we believe the gravest Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and beauty ; (e) his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal stables ; (f) his twelve hundred elephants ; (g) his Arabian⁴⁶ charge Shub-Deez, fleetier than the wind ; (h) his enchanting musician, Bārbud ; (i) above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love ; are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude, that no monarch ever lived in greater luxury and splendour. His reign for more than thirty years was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors." ⁴⁷

The nine remarkable possessions referred to by Malcolm in the above passage are contained in our above list given on the authority of Ṭabarī. It seems that when Malcolm wrote this, he had the work of Ṭabarī before him.

One can name the Palace of Mashita in Moab, situated on the table-land on the east of the Dead Sea, as one of Khusru's rich rare possessions. Its exterior was ornamented with beautiful sculpture on the stone surface. The designs of this palace are believed to be presenting "an evident link between Assyrian and Byzantine art."⁴⁸ "Among the Mashita

⁴⁵ "One of these treasures was called Badawerd or "The Gift of the Winds," because it had been cast upon his territories when conveying to the Roman Emperor." Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 126. Malcolm is wrong in this observation, as said above.

⁴⁶ According to Ṭabarī, as said above, it was a charger from Roum (i.e., Constantinople.)

⁴⁷ Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26 2nd ed. of 1829.

⁴⁸ W. Morris and Prof. Middleton in the article on "Mural Decoration" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. XVII, p. 35, col. 1.

carvings occurs that oldest and most widely spread of all forms of Aryan ornament—the sacred tree between two animals. The sculptured slab over the ‘lion gate’ at Mycenae has the other common variety of this motive—the fire-altar between the beasts. These designs, occasionally varied by figures of human worshipper instead of the beasts, survived in a most extraordinary way long after their meaning had been forgotten.”^{48a}

I think that Khusru’s conquest of the country round Constantinople and Jerusalem may be taken as the remaining three remarkable principal things or events of the reign

16. *Conquest of Egypt.* As to Egypt, it had long remained under the sway of the Roman Empire. As

said by Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole,⁴⁹ Egypt, “remote from the great conflicts that destroyed the Western Empire, and threatened the existence of the Eastern, had enjoyed uninterrupted freedom from an invader since its conquest of Zenobia⁵⁰ and had known no rebellion since that of Achilleus.”⁵¹ So, its fall when attacked by Khusru in 616 A.C. may naturally be considered as a great event.

When Emperor Maurice of Rome was treacherously killed by the tyrant Phocas, who succeeded him in 602 A.C.

Khusru assumed the role of a protector of Maurice’s deposed son Theodosius who had sought refuge in his court. Again Narses, who ruled over the country round Edessa, asked his help against Phocas. So, when Phocas sent his ambassadors in 604 A.C. to the Court of Persia to announce his accession, Khusru imprisoned the ambassadors and declared war. The war lasted long, and, as said by Prof. Nöldeke, Khusru “for 20 years laid the Roman lands open to such ravages as had never before been known ; so helpless was the

^{48a} Ibid. Vol. XVII, col. 1. n. 1.

⁴⁹ Article on Egypt. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. VII. p. 748.

⁵⁰ Zenobia was the queen of Palmyra. She came to power in A.C. 266. She claimed to be the queen of the East and invaded Syria and Egypt.

⁵¹ Achilleus had assumed the title of Emperor rebelling against Diocletian and ruled over Egypt for some time till overthrown and put to death by Diocletian in A.C. 296.

empire under the bad rule of Phocas and through the pressure of Avars and other barbarians. Khosrau was present at the taking of Dara (604 A.C.). . . . After a few years, the Persian armies were seen as far west as Chalcedon against Constantinople."⁵² Thus, this great event of curbing the power of Rome, in a way never experienced before, should assuredly be considered a remarkable event of Khusru's reign.

The conquest of Jerusalem and the capture of the very cross on which Christ was crucified was an event which surprised the whole Christendom, and so, it can easily be taken

18. *Conquest of Jerusalem.* as a remarkable event in the reign of Khusru. Khusru took it in 614 A.C. and he is said to have burned some of the churches and sepulchres. This conquest of Jerusalem and capture of the Holy Cross must have been considered a great remarkable event by the Persians, especially because they believed that the inclination of Khusru in the early years of his reign was in favour of Christianity. The Zoroastrian courtiers of the King did not like his being too much under the influence of Christian bishops and Christianity.

We know from oriental writers, that the Zoroastrian courtiers at one time, resented the king putting on the royal robe presented to him by his Christian father-in-law Maurice, because it carried the symbol of Cross and other Christian symbols. Again, we know that at one time, when the Zoroastrian prayer of grace was recited by a Zoroastrian courtier—according to one authority, it was the king himself who was reciting it—at a dinner given in honour of a Roman ambassador, the ambassador objected to the recital, saying that a Zoroastrian ritual should not take place in the presence of a Christian ambassador. The quarrel that rose between the Christian ambassador and the Zoroastrian courtier would have ended in bloodshed, had it not been for the Roman wife of Khusru who persuaded the ambassador, who in this case was one of her own brothers, to give way. Thus, under all these circumstances, the capture of Jerusalem and its Holy Cross may have been taken as a remarkable

⁵² Prof. Noldeke in his Article on Persia (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. 18, p. 614).

event of Khusru's reign by his people. Gibbon speaks of the capture of the Cross as "the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity." On the subject of the capture of Jerusalem and of the Holy Cross we read the following in Gibbon's History: ⁵³

"The conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nushirvan was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson; the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; and he could enlist, for this holy ⁵⁴ warfare, an army of six and twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the true cross were transported into Persia."

Sir P. Sykes speaks of this seizure of the "True Cross" as "an act which moved Christendom to its depths." ⁵⁵ Firdousi describes a letter of the Roman Emperor to Khusru requesting the return of the Holy Cross and Khusru's letter politely refusing that request. ⁵⁶

History tells us that the victory of Khusru in Jerusalem was short-lived. The new Roman Emperor Heraclius undid all that Khusru had done. According to Tabari, prophet Muhammad had prophesied this turn of affairs, and this prophecy has been taken as one of the many miracles accompanying the advent of the Prophet in Khusru's reign. According to this author, during the 20th year of the reign of Khusru Parviz the Prophet began preaching at Mecca. He fled to Medina at the end of the 30th year. There was hardly a day since

⁵³ The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ed. of 1844, Vol. III. p. 249.

⁵⁴ One cannot understand well, why Gibbon should call this warfare "holy" on the part of the Persians, as this was not a religious war against the Romans as Christians.

⁵⁵ Persia (1922) p. 40.

⁵⁶ Macan's Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 1992-98. Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 227-239.

the birth of the Prophet when God did not show evidences of his prophetic mission to Parviz. Tabari then describes⁵⁶ the following miracles of the Prophet which occurred at the court of Parviz.

(a) The vaults of Khusru's palace of Madāin (Ctesiphon) fell down twice. Each time the reparation cost one million⁵⁷ dirhems. When Khusru asked of his astrologers the signification of this event, they told him that it portended the coming of a new religion.

(b) When once Khusru was crossing a bridge, it fell by the force of water and he just escaped falling. The reparation of the bridge cost 5,00,000 dirhems.

(c) Once, when Khusru was in his apartment, a person with a stick (*chūb*) in his hand came suddenly into his presence and said that Mahomed was a true prophet. He added "If you will not follow him I will destroy (lit. break up) your religion." He, on uttering these words, symbolically broke the stick.⁵⁸ This person was an angel who had come to warn Khusru.

(d) The people of Roum (the then Roman Empire, which had its capital in Constantinople, known at first as New Rome) conspired and killed their king Maurice, who had sent his son Theodosius to assist Khusru to regain his throne. Then they placed Phocas on the throne. Then on the representation of Theodosius, who reminded Khusru of what his father had done for him, Khusru sent a Persian army under Farroukhan to the help of Theodosius. At the same time, he sent another general Cadrān to invade Jerusalem. This general took the holy city and got possession of the Holy Cross which he sent to Parviz. Parviz placed it in his treasure.

⁵⁶ 56th Chapt. according to Zotenberg. The Persian version of Tabari heads this chapter as *معجزات حضرت پیغامبر* (Naval Kishore's Text, p. 360).

⁵⁷ The Persian version gives the figure as one hundred thousand.

⁵⁸ *گر بدو نگروی من دهم ترا بشکنم و آن چو برا بشکست*
(Naval Kishore's Text, p. 360 1.18). This version further on says that the people of Persia were not taken to be the people of the book:—
(Ibid 1. 14): *میگفتند اهل اجم اهل کتاب نیستند*—

The supporters of the prophet had taken a wager on the subject of the result of the war and the prophet himself predicted a victory in the end for the Romans, and his prediction began to turn out successful with the advent of Heraclius (*هرقل*) on the throne of the Roman Empire.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Tabari also describes an embassy of the Prophet to the Court of Khusru Parviz. The Persian king tore off the letter from the Prophet, who on hearing the news, cursed the king saying: "He has torn asunder his own country" (*او ملک خویش درید*). Naval Kishore's Text, p. 361. 1.10.

FEW PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF KASHMIR.*

I HAD THE PLEASURE of paying three visits to Kashmir. During the last two of these visits, I copied some of the unpublished inscriptions of the beautiful valley.

Introduction. In my paper, entitled "The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir," read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society¹, I have

published the texts and the translations of three of the inscriptions—two at Virnag and one on the Dal Lake. In my paper, entitled "An unpublished Inscription at the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi," read before this Society², I have given a fourth inscription which belongs not strictly to Kashmir but to the frontiers of Kashmir. I submit in this paper, some more inscriptions which, as far as I know, are not published as yet. However, if they have been published, I beg to submit, that my copy and translation may be kindly accepted as serving the purpose of comparison. I request, that they may be taken, not as copies made by an expert, specially working on them as an archæologist, but as those of an amateur tourist, travelling with the eye and taste of an humble antiquarian.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MOSQUE OF SHAH HAMADAN.

The first set of inscriptions which I submit in this paper is from the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān in Srinagar, situated on the right bank of the Jhelum between the third bridge, Fateh Kadal, and the fourth bridge, Zaina Kadal. The Masjid is known after a Mohamedan saint known as Shāh Hamadān.

Shāh Hamadān. The original name of the saint was Mir Sayyid Alī, but, as he came from the city of Hamadān in Persia, he was known as Hamadānī (*i.e.*, "of

* This paper was sent, through the Bombay Branch, to the Royal Asiatic Society, to be read on the occasion of its Centenary.

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 25, pp. 26-75.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 325-345.

Hamadān'')³. Shāh Hamadān is said to have come to Kashmir in the time of Quṭb-ud-dīn (1373-1398 A.C.) and to have had a great hand in Mohamedanizing the country.

They say that on the spot where the Masjid now stands, there ran a spring which was held sacred by the ancient Pandits of Kashmir, and that king Pravarsena II (79-139

The Masjid.

A.D.) first built there a temple dedicated to Kālī. On the conquest of Kashmir by the Mohamedans, there came to the country many Mohamedans of the Sayyid and other religious classes, with a view to preach Mohammedanism, and, among these, Shāh Hamadān was the principal one. Among the many sacred Hindu places desecrated by the Mohammedan rulers, one was that of this Hindu temple. Quṭb-ud-dīn is said to have first built a Masjid over this place, using the materials of the temple for its construction. He built it in the memory of Shāh Hamadān who is said to have died at Pakhali near Abbotābād. Sikandar But-shikun is said to have extended this Masjid. It was destroyed by fire in 1479 A.D. and was rebuilt by Sultān Ḥasan Shāh, with a single storey. Upto this time the Mohammedans of Kashmir were all Sunni. Most of them are still Sunni. But in the time of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, there came here a Shīāh, named Mīr Shams Irāqī. He, with a view to destroy this important place of worship of the Sunnis, said to the ruling king that he wanted to build a better two-storied Masjid. He pulled it down and then did not rebuild it. Thereupon, the queen of the Mohammedan king rebuilt it as a centre of the Sunni worship. In 1731, it was again burnt and was rebuilt by

³ Hamadān is the Ecbatana of the classical writers. Herodotus (Bk. I., 98) attributes its foundation to the first Median king Dioces. The Pahlavi Shatroihā-Airān (*vide* my translation of the Yādgar-i-Zarirān, Shatroieā Airān, etc.) attributes it to Yazdajard I. Masūdi attributes it to Alexander the Great (Maṣoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. 9, p. 21). According to some Mohamedan authors, one Hamadān, son of Felewdj, son of Sem, son of Noah, founded it. (*Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse*, par B. de Meynard). According to Mustawfi, Jamshed founded it, and Dara of Dara rebuilt it (Ibid). The saint is generally spoken of as Shāh Hamadān (i.e. King Hamadān), because some of the Mohammedan saints are spoken of as Shāh. Cf. The practice of the Parsees addressing their priests as Pādshāh (king).

Ab'ul Barakat Khān. Thus reconstructed, it stands up to now. Like the Juma Masjid it is entirely built of wood. As large wooden structures, all built of wood, these two Masjids, especially the Juma Masjid, are worth seeing. The old structures of the Masjid having been twice burnt and once pulled down, the Persian inscriptions must be taken to be as old as only 1731 A.D.

There are two groups of Persian inscriptions on this Masjid of Shāh Hamadān. One is on the outside of the Masjid, over and near the door-way, and the other inside the

*The Outside
Inscriptions of
the Masjid.*

qibla-gāh or arch of worship. Rev. Loewenthal⁴ has published the inscriptions of the first group, i.e., those which are outside on the entrance. So, I do not give them here. Here and there, I may translate them a little differently, but that is not a very important matter. However, this group of inscriptions require a few observations, which I will make here, before giving the second group of inside inscriptions, which, so far as I know, have not been published. Rev. Loewenthal has given the outside inscriptions in three sets or parts. I beg to draw attention to the following points in connection with these sets, with a view to help those who want to examine personally at some time the inscriptions, and with a view to give some proper amendations :

(a) The lines which Rev. Loewenthal has given second in his paper (p. 281), which begin with the words چون شد and which give the date of Shāh Hamadān's death, stand first in the inscription.

(b) The lines in his second (really speaking the first) set are one below another as given by him in his first set and not one by the side of another. On the other hand, the lines of the couplets in his first (really speaking the second) set are one by the side of another and not one below another, as given by him.

(c) In the case of the third set of lines as given by Rev. Loewenthal, the two lines in the first row occur on our right hand side facing the gate, the lines of the row being one under another. The

⁴4. "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir". J.B.A.S. Vol. 33 (1965), pp. 278-90.

lines of the second row beginning with the words *تر فیض* are inscribed on the left hand side.

(d) Rev. Loewenthal has headed his second set (which in fact stands first) on the entrance door of the Masjid with the words *تاریخ وفات وی* (i.e., "the date of his death"). I did not find them. During my third visit to Kashmir I visited the Masjid three times. The third visit was specially made to ascertain again, if the words occurred in the inscription, and I did not find them. So, I think, they were put in by Rev. Loewenthal by mistake. Possibly, somebody, connected with the Masjid, who accompanied him and helped him in copying the inscriptions, as they occasionally do when we visit the Masjids and try to read the inscriptions thereon, merely said to him in Persian, *by way of information*, that the inscription in question referred to his (Shāh Hamadān's) death (*tārīkh-i-wafāt-i-waē*), and he mistook the words for the inscription itself and took them down.

(e) The inscription begins with the following well known Arabic prayer formula above the arched door: *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* (In the name of God, the kind, the beneficent).⁵ Rev. Loewenthal has not given it. It is below the above Arabic formula, that the lines of the first two sets of inscriptions, as given by him, run.

Now, I come to the second group of inscriptions: those in the inside of the Masjid. I give them below. They are not given by Rev. Loewenthal, perhaps, because he was not allowed to go in, or perhaps because, having been written on the painted wood of the Mihrāb of the Qiblah, where it is generally a little dark he did not see them. During my two visits to the Masjid, though the days were clear and the visits were in the morning at about 9-30 a.m., I had to send for candles and a ladder to read the inscription.

⁵ This well-known Arabic prayer formula is in the line of a well-known Parsi Pahlavi formula, *pavan sham-i Yahān*, as also in that of the well-known Pazand and Persian formula which precedes many Parsee prayers *بنام ایزد بخشایند و بخشایند*.

The inscription is on the wooden wall opposite to the entrance round about the Mihrāb or the arch.

(a) The wooden wall containing the Mihrāb may be divided into three parts from top to bottom. The second or the middle part round the Mihrāb has on its wooden panel the various names of God such as :

*Names of God
inserted on the
Mihrāb.*

یا قادر i.e., O Powerful !
 یا ظاهر „ O Known !
 یا باطن „ O Concealed !
 یا والی „ O Guardian !
 یا صمد „ O Eternal !
 یا مالک الملک „ O Possessor of Countries !
 یا ذو الجلال والاکرام „ O Glorious and Venerable !
 یا رب الہقا⁶ „ O True God !
 یا تواب „ O Relenting !
 یا رب „ O Lord !
 یا منعم „ O Beneficent !
 یا مقتدر „ O Powerful !
 یا غفور „ O Pardoner !
 یا رؤف „ O Merciful !

*The Persian
inscriptions pro-
per over the Mih-
rāb.*

(b) The following lines are inscribed on the three sides of the Mihrāb beginning from below on the right hand side as we stand facing it :

شاہد باز ہوا لامکان است علی
 شاہ جهان بی نشانست علی
 شاہمہدیان علی و آل طہ
 نقد علی و علی ثانی است علی⁷
 بیرون⁸ ز فیضہای عالم جسمانی است

⁶ Probably یا حق

⁷ This line could not be read as it was hidden under a lamp socket.

⁸ According to Professor Sarfraz in a note submitted to the Editor, miswritten for نصای

آنرا بود طریق شاه همدان
 شاه همدانی که علی ثانی است

Translation. "‘Alī⁹ is like the falcon (*shāh-bāz*) of the air (which is) without any settled place. Ali, is the king of the world (which is) without any sign (*bī-nishān*). *shāh* Hamdān is like ‘Ali and of the progeny (*āl*) of Muhammad.¹⁰ ‘Ali is the very spirit (*naqd*) of ‘Ali and ‘Ali of Hamadān is (as it were) the second ‘Ali He is above the favours of the corporeal world. That road (*i.e.*, of being above worldly favours) is the path (*tariq*) of *shāh-é-Hamadān*. It is the road of *shāh-é-Hamadan* who is second ‘Ali."

(c) The following four lines are inscribed in small letters over the *Mihrāb* :

هر فیض که در سابقم هر دو جهانست
 در پیروی حضرت شاه همدانست
 شاه همدان آنکه شاهنشاه جهانست
 ای خاک بر آن دیده که در زیب و گمانست

Translation.—"Every favour which is excellent¹¹ in both the worlds results from following (*pae-ravi*) of His Holiness *Shāh* Hamadān. *Shāh* Hamadān, who is the Emperor of the World. May dust fall on that eye (*dideh*) which is in doubts (*raib*) and scepticism (about him, *i.e.*, which doubts his piety and power)".

These four lines are a repetition of four outside lines on the entrance which form the first set in Rev. Loewenthal's paper, but with one difference, *viz.*, that while the third line in the inside runs as : شاه همدان آنکه شاهنشاه جهانست

⁹ *Mir* Sayyid ‘Alī was the original name of *Shāh* Hamadān whose name the mosque bears.

¹⁰ *طهر* for *طهارت* = pure. Here by "the Holy" is meant *Muhammad* the Holy Prophet. Profes^r or Sarfraz suggests the translation of the above lines as follows: "The Royal Falcon of the air of Spaceless Region is Ali. The King of the traceless World is Ali. The chief of Mankind and the family of T. H. . . . and the second Ali is Ali of Hamadān. . . . That way is the way of (adopted by) *Shāh* Hamadān. That *Shāh-é-Hamadān* who is the second Ali".

¹¹ ‘*Sābiqa*’=pre-excellence, precedence, superiority.

that on the outside runs as :

شاه ہمدان بلکہ شاہنشاہ جہانست

Instead of the word *ān ke*, we have *balke*, but that does not make much difference in sense.

It seems that they were latterly written in the inside of the Masjid. The fact that they are inscribed in letters smaller than those of the other lines seems to show this. Again, below these lines we read the words :

عاقبت خیر باد ۱۲۰۸

("May it be good in the end. 1208".)

So. it seems that the outside four lines on the entrance were inscribed in the inside. later on, in 1208 Hijri (1793 A.C.)

(d) The following lines are written over the arch in a straight line over the above set of lines :

حضرت شاہ ہمدانی کریم
آیتہ رحمت ز کلام قدیم
گفت دم آخر و داریض شد
بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

Translation. "His Holiness the generous Shāh-é-Hamadān said an āyat (*i.e.*, verse) of kindness from ancient sayings, at the last breath (*i.e.*, at the time of death), *viz.*, 'bismillā alrahman al rahīm' (*i.e.*, in the name of God, the kind, the beneficent) and (these words) became (his) date."

The Arabic formula of Bismilla gives us 786 Hijri (1384 A.D.) as the date of his death. This date (786 Hijri) corresponds with the date of his death, given in one of the above mentioned outside inscriptions which runs thus :

چو شد از گاہ احمد خاتم دین
ز ہجرت ہفت صد و ستم و ثمانین
برفت از عالم فانی بباقی
امیر ہر دو عالم آل یاسین

Translation.—"When seven hundred and eighty-six years Hijri passed from the time of Ahmad, the seal of religion, then there passed away from (this) transient world to the eternal world, the Amir of both the worlds of the family of Yāsīn".¹³

(e) The following inscriptions on wooden tablets some of which, having got out of their proper position, are nailed, and one of which is missing, are found on the top of the above mentioned inscriptions :

شاهباز کریم بر من درویش نگر
بر حال من خستگه دلریش نگر
بر چند نیم لایق لطف و کرم
بر من منگر بر کرم خویش نگر

Translation.—"O Generous royal falcon!¹⁴ Look towards me (who am) a *darwish*. Look to the condition of myself (who am) depressed and heart-broken. However unfit for your kindness and generosity I may be, do not look towards me, but look towards your own generosity [*i.e.*, if you find me faulty, kindly do not look to (*i.e.*, overlook) my faults and out of your own generosity of mind be kind to me]".

(f) Then follow the two Arabic lines with the word Allāh, on both sides and with the names of Allāh, Muhammed, Abūbakr, *Hasan*, 'Usmān and Āli on both sides.

The order of the above-said inscriptions over the inner Mihrāb is in the following order from up to down below :

- (1) An Arabic inscription.
- (2) Another Arabic inscription.
- (3) Then the Persian inscription on wooden tablets, some of which, getting loose, have been nailed.
- (4) Then the Persian inscription with large types which run up from below from the right hand side and then over the top and then run down on the left.

¹³ Ahmed was one of the names of Muhammad, and Yāsīn is one of his surnames.

¹⁴ *Shāh* Hamadān is compared to the royal falcon (*Shāh-bāz*) and is addressed as such,

- (5) Then the inscription in smaller letters, which is also inscribed outside the Masjid on the entrance.

There is an inscription on the outside of a building which is attached to the Masjid and which stands on the bank of the river above the place held sacred in honour of Kāli. It runs as follows :

An inscription on an attached building.

تعلی اللہ چہ عالی بارگاہی
تجلی گاہ انوار است چو طور
فلک تاریخ تعمیرش ہمچست
ملک گفتا بنا شد خانہ نور
راقم عزیز سنہ ۱۲۶۹

Translation.—"O Exalted God ! What an exalted place of honour (bārgāh) it is ! It is a place of splendour of lights like a mountain (Tūr)¹⁵. Heaven inquired about the date of its erection. The angel said 'bina shud khāna-i-nūr' (i.e., it was erected as the house of splendour). Writer Aziz year 1269."

The words *بنا شد خانہ نور* give the date as (2+50+1+300+4+600+1+50+5+50+6+200=) 1269. This year 1269 Hijri corresponds to A.C. 1852-53. It shows that it is a comparatively recent structure.

There are some later inscriptions on the entrance of the Masjid which are not the permanent inscriptions of the Masjid itself, but are rather votive inscriptions written on detached cardboard-like papers and pinned on the walls. One of such inscriptions is a copy of an inscription at Hazrat Bal, of which I will speak later on. Under this quotation of the Hazrat Bal inscription there runs the following Arabic line :

ومن دخل ہی کان آمنا

i. e. He who enters this place gets peace.

A FEW INSCRIPTIONS IN THE JUMMA MASJID OF SRINAGAR.

During my visit of the Jumma Masjid on 11th July 1915, I saw the following three inscriptions :

¹⁵ Tūr=a mountain, Mount Sinai is especially known by that name.

1. An inscription on the Gate, of the time of Jehangir giving the date of the construction of the Masjid after the destruction, by fire, of the original building.
2. An inscription of a Farmān or Order of Shah Jehan, ordering relief to the people of Kashmir in several directions.
3. An inscription on a stone tablet, divided into two parts and lying in a wing of the Masjid on the right hand side, while entering it.

Rev. Loewenthal gives, in his above mentioned paper, "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir" (*J.B.L.S.*, 1864, Vol. 33, No. 3, p. 278 *et seq.*), the last two of the above

1. *The inscription on the entrance to the Masjid* inscriptions, which he heads as "Inscription on and near the Great Mosque." He has not given the first inscription, which, as far as I know, is unpublished. It is on the very top of the gate. Rev. Loewenthal did not give it, perhaps, because it is mutilated, as the result of the fire that destroyed the original building. It is written at the top of the entrance in three rows, each row containing three miṣras (hemistichs). The right hand portion of the inscription is destroyed by wear and tear and by the fire above referred to. It seems that the present inscription is what remained after the fire in the reign of Aurangzeb. This king, though he rebuilt the Masjid burnt by fire, added no inscription to record his work of reconstruction. He or his officers simply got the old inscription of the time of Jehangir replaced, however mutilated, on the top of the gate. We do not find on the gate the whole of the inscription as I give it. The burnt or destroyed portion was given to me orally by a Maulvi in charge of the Masjid, who said, that his authority was some written manuscript, in which, perhaps, the inscription was recorded before the fire which occurred in the time of Aurangzeb. He said that even in the manuscript referred to by him, some lines were missing. Not having seen the manuscript itself, I am not in a position to say, whether, as he said, the missing lines are not found in the manuscript. I do not find fault with his memory, as he recited the lines pretty fluently. I enclose in parenthesis the portion which I did not find in the inscription on the entrance, but which was kindly given to

producing a most imposing effect. The court-yard measures 254 × 234 feet. There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.

“ The history of Jāma Masjid is of interest and it has passed through many vicissitudes. Thrice it was destroyed by fire and rebuilt: once in 1479, again in the days of Jehangir in 1619 and once more during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1674; the present structure dating from the days of Aurangzeb. In the time of Sikhs, it was closed for 23 years and was reopened in 1841 by Ghulim Moḥi-ud-din, one of the governors of Sikhs. The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now, men from Ladakh visit the Jāma Masjid and call it by its old name Tsitsung Tsublak Kang. ”

With the help of our inscription, we are able to correct the date of the original construction of the Masjid, 1404 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul. Our inscription gives the date in the word *خرد* (*kherad*, which, according to the *memoria technica* of *abjad* gives to us, as seen above, the date 804 Hijri). No exact day of the month and the month are given in our inscription, but as the Hijri year (804) began on 11th August 1401²⁴, it is certain, that the corresponding Christian year must be 1401 or 1402 and not 1404.

The date of the burning of the Masjid in the time of Jehangir 1619 A.C., as given by Pandit Anand Koul is supported by our inscription, which says that after its second destruction by fire, it was rebuilt by Malik Ḥaidar in 1029 Hijri. The Hijri year 1029 began on 8th December 1619. So the date as given by the inscription corresponds to that given by the Pandit. The date of its first re-construction as given by him is 1479 A.C. Our inscription does not give the date, but simply says that it was rebuilt by Ḥasan shāh, a descendant of Sikandar, the first builder. This Ḥasan shāh²⁵ was a prince of the Royal family, but he never ruled.

As Aurangzeb, on its third re-construction at his hand after its third destruction by fire, had not placed any new inscription on the Masjid with his date, we are not in a position to check from the inscription the date 1674 A.C. as given by Pandit Anand Koul.

²⁴ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary (*vide* the Chronological Table at the end).

²⁵ Sikandar came to throne in 1394 A.C., and Zain-ul 'Ābidin succeeded him in 1417. He was succeeded by his son Hājī Khān in 1469 under the name of Ḥaidar Shāh. So Ḥasan Shāh may be one of his brothers, (Lawrence, *Kashmir*. pp. 190-93).

Sir Walter Lawrence, in his account of the Masjid in his very valuable book on Kashmir, refers to this inscription and says : "Verses on the door of the mosque state that the mosque was originally built by the great King Zain-ul-Abadin."²⁶ He is not correct in this statement. The verses do not speak of Zain-ul-'ābidīn as the first constructor but speak of Sikandar as such. Zain-ul-ābidīn came to the throne of Kashmir in 1417²⁷ A.C. (820 Hijri). Sikandar (But-Shekan) came to the throne in 1394 A.C. (797 Hijri).²⁸ Now the date of the first construction given in the inscription, as seen above, is 804 Hijri (*i.e.* 1401-02 A.C.). So, evidently this is the time of the reign of Sikandar and not of Zain-ul-'ābidīn.

Again, he speaks of its being "finally finished by Ibrahim and Ahmad Magre."²⁹ The inscription does not give any *wāw* (و) between the two names signifying "and". So, it seems that Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Māgrī is one name and not two as suggested by him.

This inscription confirms what I have said in my preceding paper on "The Moguls at Kashmir" about Ḥaidar Malik or Malik Ḥaidar : He had a great hand in building some of the public buildings of the time of Jehangir. As it was often the case in the time of the Moghul Emperors, the literary men of the royal courts besides doing their literary work, held some great offices in the state. Abu'l Faẓl was a historian as well as a great official ; so was Faizī. Malik Ḥaidar was a man of that stamp. He was a literary man writing a history of his country, and was also, as it were, an officer in charge of the Public Works Department of Shah Jehangir's time. In fact, the Maulvi of the Masjid who accompanied me in my inspection of the Masjid and its inscriptions, on being asked by me as to who Malik Ḥaidar was, used the English word "Engineer" about him. In this inscription, he is also spoken of as the Rais-ul-mulk (*i.e.* the Chief or the Governor of Kashmir).

After I had completed the inscription on the top and got down from the ladder, I was told that the inscription bore in a corner the

²⁶ *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 191.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 190.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 290.

words *عمل ہیرام* i.e. (in the time of the) management³⁰ of Harirām. As I had felt exhausted and as it had gone late, I did not go up the ladder again to verify whether the words were there. But taking it that the words were there, it seems that this Hindu Officer may be a superintendent acting under the instructions of his head officer Malik Haidar.

There is on the gate of the Masjid an inscription which has nothing to do with the Masjid itself. It is a farmān of Shah Jehān

2. *The Inscription on the Masjid publishing a farmān of Shāh Jehān.* ordering redress for some grievances of the people of Kashmir. It seems, that it was put up on the gate of the Masjid, so that all people attending it for worship may read it and be informed of

the orders of the king for the removal of their grievances. Rev. Loewenthal has given the inscription of the farmān with his translation.³¹ On my comparing Rev. Loewenthal's copy with the original on the Masjid, I found that his copy required about 18 corrections, but most of these were on trivial and insignificant points. On the whole, his work was very well done. In some cases, he seems to have intentionally amended the reading, as they seem to be the inscriber's error. His text therefore being almost all correct, I did not copy the inscription of the farmān but carefully noted down the small errors.

A list of amendments in Loewenthal's reading. I give below a list of the changes and amendments required to be made in Loewenthal's reading:—

The inscription begins with the usual formal words of invocation of God *الله اکبر* which Loewenthal has omitted, though he has given them in his translation.

Line 7—The word *فرمان* farmān as given by Loewenthal does not occur in the inscription.

Line 10—Read *باشند* for *باشد*

Line 10—Read *یکی آنست* for *یکی بآنست*. Loewenthal . . . seems to have amended the text, and that very properly

³⁰ The word means rule or dominion. It also means action. So Prof. Sarfraz suggests that the name may be that of the inscriber himself.

³¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. 33 (1865), pp. 287-290.

as ب is unnecessary. We do not find it in the later portion of the farmān, where a similar construction occurs.

Line 15—Read زعفرانرا for زعفران

Line 17—Add و before عمل

Line 24—Add و before رعایا

Line 24—Read آن for این

Line 25—Read معاف before وجه

Line 29—Read بمقتضای for بمقتضای

Line 33—Read میرسد for میرسیده

Line 34—Read از آن مردم بعضی before

Line 35—Read فرق for فرق (Loewenthal's amended reading seems to be correct.)

Line 37—Add و before تغیر, and after ندہند

Line 37—Drop کہ after کسکہ

Line 38—Read فی التاریخ for فی تاریخ (Loewenthal's amendment seems to be correct.)

Line 39—For ۲۶ (in figures), read بست و ششم (in words.)

Line 39—Read آذر for آذر

As it is an important historical inscription I give here my translation for easy reference.

Translation.

“God is great ³²

“Shāh Jahān, the brave king.

“A copy of the auspicious³³ Farmān (order) of His Majesty (who is) Solomon-like in dignity, the second Šāhib qirān,³⁴ which was published³⁵ on the seventh of Ilāhī month Asfandārmaz,

³² Rev. Loewenthal has omitted the words الله اکبر in the text of the Farmān, though he has translated them.

³³ Sa'adat-neshān = of happy signs.

³⁴ Lord of a happy conjunction (of stars). This was a title first applied to Taimur and then secondly to his successor.

³⁵ Sharf-i-varud yafte, lit. had the honour of appearance.

in compliance with the request of the humblest of the dependants, Aḥsan Allah bearing the title of Zafarkhān, in the matter of the removal of the wrongs (*bid'athā*) which were prevalent in the country of beautiful Kashmir, in the time of the previous subahdārs and which were the cause of the adversity of the subjects and inhabitants of this country.

“As³⁶ all our thought of exalted desire³⁷ is directed and turned towards the contentment of (our) people, we have ordered, that several acts, which, within the boundaries (*khitta*) of beautiful Kashmir, were the cause of annoyance to the inhabitants of that country, may be cancelled.³⁸ Out of all (such) affairs (or cases), one is this, that at the time of gathering saffron, they carried away (poor) people with violence (‘unf), so that they may gather saffron (from the plants) and they gave to these people a little salt by way of wages. These people are much harmed on this account. We have ordered that by no means (aslan) should anybody be molested for gathering saffron; and for that (saffron) which is in the district of favoured (*sharifa*) Government lands (*khalsah*), the labourers shall be made contented and paid their actual (*wāgi'i*) wages; and for that which is in the district in the possession of Jāgirdārs, the whole of the saffron³⁹ may be given in the stock (*jins*) in charge of the Jagirdār, so that they may gather it in any way they like. The second (affair) is this: that in the times of some subah-holders of Kashmir, on every *kharwār*⁴⁰ of rice,⁴¹ they took two dāms⁴² on account of fuel⁴³ and⁴⁴ during the rule of I'tiqād *khān*,

³⁶ Between the above few lines of heading and this portion, which is the Farmān proper, Loewenthal gives in his text, the word فرمان but we do not find it in the inscription itself.

³⁷ Himmat-i walā nahmat.

³⁸ برطرف باشد Loewenthal, has given باشد instead of باشد

³⁹ Loewenthal omits را after the word زعفران

⁴⁰ Lit. an aas load. It was “the measure of a hundred Tabriz maunds” (Steingass). Loewenthal takes it to be 180 pounds.

⁴¹ Shali=rice in the husk.

⁴² Dām=the fourteenth part of a rupee.

⁴³ Haizam, Avesta *aesma* (skt. *idhma*).

⁴⁴ Loewenthal has omitted this و.

four dāms for that purpose were taken on each *kharwār*. As, in this respect also, much harm resulted to (our) subjects, we have ordered, that our subjects shall be excused altogether from the demand of this obligation (*wajh*) and nothing shall be taken for fuel.

“Another (affair) is this, that from every village, the Government revenue of which was more than 400 *kharwārs* of rice, the Governors of that village took two sheep every year, and I’tiqād *khān*, during the time of his subah-ship, instead of sheep, took 66 dāms per every sheep. As in this respect also much harm resulted to the subjects, we have wholly ordered that (the impost) shall be cancelled, and that neither sheep shall be taken nor cash in the matter of this charge (*‘illat*) and ⁴⁵ the subjects shall be excused from the payment of the money (or obligation).⁴⁶

“Again, I’tiqād Khān during the time of his subah-ship, was, showing an average, taking from each boatman (*malāhi*, sea-faring man), whether young or old or of tender age, 75 dāms, but the old practice was that for youth, per head, 60 dāms, for an old man 12 dāms and for one of tender age 36 dāms were taken. We have ordered that putting the former practice into force, the wrong (*bid‘at*) which I’tiqād *khān* had committed, shall be known as redressed and they shall not act as thereby required (*muqtaza*).⁴⁷

“Another (affair) is this, that *gūbahdārs*, during the time of fruit (season), appointed somebody of their own (to stay) in every (large) garden or small garden, where they expected good fruit, so that they may look after the fruit for them (*i.e.*, *gūbahdārs*) and did not allow the owners of the large or small gardens to come in

⁴⁵ Loewenthal omits the و .

⁴⁶ The inscription has گرفتن این وجه but Loewenthal gives
گرفتن آن

⁴⁷ Loewenthal gives the words as مقتضای but, as given in the inscription, the word seems to be مقتضای *i.e.* in the inscription there is a م before the final ی. As there is no Persian word like *muqtazāmi* Loewenthal seems to have very properly corrected the reading.

possession of the fruit. From this cause, much loss results⁴⁸ to these people (gardeners), so much so that some (ba'zī)⁴⁹ of these people have removed (*i.e.* destroyed their) fruit trees. (So) we have ordered that the Šūbahdār shall make no seizure (qarq) of the fruits of anyone's large or small garden.

"It is necessary that (all) generous governors and efficient⁵⁰ civil officers (diwāniān) and executive officers of the present times or future of the Šūbah of Kashmir, should know these orders, which are required to be obeyed by all (jahān-muṭā) to be lasting and perpetual and⁵¹ give no way to any change or alteration in these (above) regulations; and⁵² anybody⁵³ who will give way to any change or alteration, shall be involved in the curse of God and the anger of the king.

Written on date⁵⁴ twenty-six month Āzar Ilāhī."

It is very strange that, though we find in the *Farmān*, the day and the month of its issue (26th of Āzar) and the date of its being recorded in the books (7th of Asfandārmaz), we do not find the year. One cannot understand the reason. But let us try to arrive at some approximate year. We find from what is said in the wording of the heading of the *Farmān*, that it was issued at the request of Aḥsan Alla⁵⁵ Zāfar Khān. So let us know something of the life of this personage.

⁴⁸ Loewenthal gives the word as *mīrasad* but the word in the inscription is *mī-rasīdah*.

⁴⁹ Loewenthal has omitted this word.

⁵⁰ *Kifayat farjām*, lit. of sufficient or capable ends or issues.

⁵¹ Loewenthal has omitted this و .

⁵² Loewenthal has omitted this و .

⁵³ Loewenthal repeats کسکم after کسکم . The inscription properly gives کسکم .

⁵⁴ Loewenthal gives فی التاریخ but in the inscription itself we do not find fi.

⁵⁵ Loewenthal takes Aḥsan-Allah to be common words and not a proper name. He translates them as "May God be gracious to him." But he is wrong, the words form a part of the names, as we will see later on.

We learn the following facts of his life from the *Ma'athiru-l-umarā*.⁵⁶ His name is given there as Zafar Khān Khwājah Ahsan Allāh (ظفر خان خواجہ احسن اللہ). At first, in the 19th year⁵⁷ of the reign of Jehangir,⁵⁸ he was at Kabul with his father Abū-al-Hasan, who was the Šūbahdār there. He had then the *Mansab* of 1500, the command of 600 troops and the title of Zafar Khān. In the last year of the reign of Jehangir, he was on a *Manṣab* of 2500 and in the command of 1200 troops. In the third year of Shah Jehān's reign (*i.e.*, 1630 A.C.), he took part in the conquest of Nasik and Tarbang (Trimbak). In the fifth year of Jehangir's reign (*i.e.* 1632), the šūbahship of Kashmir was taken away from the hands of I'tiqād Khān⁵⁹ and given to his (Zafar Khān's) father. He was his father's deputy there. The next year (*i.e.* 1633 A.C.) on his father's death, he was given the Šūbahship of Kashmir. He was then given a *manṣab* of 3000 and the command of 2000 troops. He was also given the grant (*'atā*) of a banner and drums. In the 7th year (1635 A.C.), when the King (Shah Jehan) went to Kashmir, he went as far as Bhatbhar (بہتہر) to receive him. In the 10th year (1638 A.C.), he was sent to Tibet⁶⁰ (تبت). In the 11th year (1639 A.C.), he returned from there. In the 12th year (1640 A.C.), his Šūbahship of Kashmir ended, and he went to punish the people of Hazarat. He was there with Prince Muḥammad Murād. He was relieved from the work of this

⁵⁶ The *Ma'athiru-l-umarā*, by Nawab Šamsāmūd Daulā Šhāh Nawāz Khān, edited by Maulawī Abd-ūr Raḥim and Maulawī Mirzā Ashraf Ali (1890), Vol. 2, p.706.

⁵⁷ *i.e.*, 1624-25 A.C. Jehangir ascended the throne on "Thursday-Jumādā Thanī 20th A.H. 1014 (October 24th 1605)". Jehangir's Memoirs translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 1.

⁵⁸ In the *Ma'athiru-l-Umarā*, in the account of the life of Zafar Khān, the Mogul kings are not named, but mentioned by their religious appellations. Jehangir is spoken of as Jannat-makāni (Vol. 11, page 756 l.14). Šhāh-Jahān is spoken of as Firdous Ashiāni (*Ibid* p. 757 l.1) and Aurangzeb as Khuld-makāni, *i.e.* exalted to heaven. (*Ibid* p. 760 l.10).

⁵⁹ In the *Ma'athiru-l-umarā* he is spoken of as Itiqād Khān Šhāhpūr (ولاء شاه پور) (Vol. 11, p. 757 l.15.)

⁶⁰ Here our author gives some account of the growth of corn and fruits in Tibet.

expedition in the next year. Being under censure, he occupied no post for two years. In the 15th year (1642 A.C.), he was appointed Šūbah of Kashmir for the second time. The King, when he, in the spring of the 18th year of his reign, visited Kashmir, honoured with his presence the garden of Zafar-ābād which was made by Zafar Khān. In recognition of his upright conduct (ḥusn sulūki), whereby he had pleased the subjects and inhabitants (of Kashmir), he was given a promotion (izāfa) of a command of 1000 troops. Then he was promoted in manṣabship. He was appointed governor of Tatta (in Sind). Then he had again to go into retirement ('uzlat). He had again risen to the manṣab of Rs. 40,000. He died in the 6th year of the reign of Aurangzeb in 1073 Hijri.

We find from this account of the life of Zafar Khān, that Shah Jahan visited Kashmir twice,—for the first time, in the 7th year of his reign, *i.e.* 1021 Hijri⁶¹ (1605-1606), and for the second time, in the 18th year, *i.e.* 1032 Hijri (1622-23). The second visit is mentioned in the Ma'athiru-l-umara, as having taken place in the spring. It seems that Zafar Khān must have drawn the attention of Shāh Jahān to the exactions of the former Governors of Kashmir during the second visit of the king, because according to this book it was during the second visit that Zafar Khān made a very favourable impression on the king on account of his upright conduct and was given a promotion. Our author mentions in his account of the second visit, that the subjects of Kashmir were pleased by the rule of Zafar Khān. Again, the Farmān speaks of the people of the country as sakana (سکنا) and ra'ayā (رايا) *i.e.* as inhabitants and subjects, and the king wants to please them by redressing certain of their grievances. We find, that the Ma'athiru-l-umara, while speaking of how Zafar Khan pleased the people, speaks of them as ra'ayā and sakanā (p. 759 l. 15).

We thus see, that the farmān may have been issued by Shah Jahān during the second visit, during the 18th year of his reign, *i.e.* in Hijri 1032 (A.C. 1622-23). As the visit was in spring, the time must be some time after March 1623.

⁶¹ The Hijri year 1021 commenced on the 4th March 1612 and the Hijri year 1032 on 5th November 1622.

The Parsi names of the months in the inscription of the farmān draw our attention. We know that the names of the months are according to the Ilāhī calendar introduced by Akbar. Jehangir and Shah Jahan had both continued this calendar. Aurangzeb did away with its use. So, the names are not properly understood now. The Maulavi who was at the Masjid, when I visited it, did not know the origin of the use of these names. On being asked, he said that the name Asfandārmaz was Turkī and that as the Mogul Emperors had some relations with the Turks, they used the Turkī name.

I give below a third inscription in the Jame' Masjid at Kashmir. It is given by Loewenthal as having existed on a well. At present, there exists no well there. On inquiry during my

3. *The Inscription on a Well at Jame' Masjid.*

visit in 1918 A.C., I learnt that the well was filled up about five years ago, i.e. in about 1913 and a road has been made over it. However fortunately, the inscription stone had been removed from the well and during my visit I saw it in the Masjid itself. I give the inscription, which can be taken as a revised copy of the inscription, correcting some errors in Loewenthal's Text.

الله 62

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم محمد

برآمد چشم فیض الهی
 بحسن سعی مشتى خاکساران
 بتوفیق خدا این کار محمود
 گرفت انجام و مشکل گشت آسان
 خلوص نیت و صدق ارادت
 شده صرف نفايش از دل و جان
 بی دنیا و دین این آبرو بس
 که شويد روی خود زو هر مسلمان
 ازین چشم بانی چشم دارد
 که باید شست و شو طومار عصیان 63

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62 الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

محمد

برآمد چشم فیض الهی
 بحسن سعی مشتى خاکساران
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 گرفت انجام و مشکل گشت آسان
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 ازین چشم بانى چشم دارد
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⁶² Loewenthal has omitted this line of invocation.

⁶³ According to Prof. Sarfraz the word seems to be miswritten for **یابد**

گناه خلق گردد شسته زبن آب
 که باشد ⁶⁴منبعش دریای عرفان
 بود وجه کرایه از دکان
 بی ترمیم حوضی فیض جربان
 خدایا بانیش را از فضل
 بدست خود بده تشریف امان
 که دارد ورد خود این بیت اوستاد
 ز روی التجا با چشم گریان
 چه نامم در ازل محمود کردی
 الهی عاقبت محمود گردان
 بدریای تفکر رفته آگه
 بی تاریخ این فرخنده بنیان
 خضر گفتا که جاری فیض ما باد
 همین تاریخ بنویس ای سخن دان
 اللهم اغفر لبانیه ولوالد یاغفار سنه ۱۱۵۲

Translation.

“ God

Muhammad.

“ In the name of God, the Merciful, the Kind. (This) well ⁶⁵ of Divine favour was built by the handsome effort of the most humble of humble persons. Maḥmūd finished this work by the guidance of God and difficulty has been relieved. Sincerity of intention and truth of purpose from heart and soul have been spent on its construction. That every Musulman will wash his face from it (its water) is a sufficient honour (for me both) worldly and religious. The builder hopes that by (the construction of) this well, the account of sins shall be washed off and cleaned, that the

⁶⁴ Loewenthal has *منبعش* which seems to be a printer's mistake.

⁶⁵ Chasmah, “source, fountain.”

sins of all people may be washed away by this water, because its origin is from the sea of knowledge. The income of the rent of the shops shall go towards the reparation of the reservoir flowing ⁶⁶ (or running) over with divine favour. O God ! give to the builder, by your own hand, by way of honour ⁶⁷ exalting good faith, because, by way of entreaty ⁶⁸ (and) with imploring (lit. weeping) eyes, he keeps in daily practice ⁶⁹ this couplet of his teacher. When, in the very beginning, you have made my name Maḥmūd, O God ! let it, in the end (also) be Maḥmūd (lit. praised). In the sea of thought, for the date of this happy structure ⁷⁰ this has gone current (lit. informed). Khazr said : "*Jārī faiz-i mā bād* (i.e., May my favour remain continuous). O wise man ! write this as its structure's) date.

O God ! ⁷¹ O Pardoner ! ⁷² forgive the builder ⁷³ and his father. ⁷⁴ Year 1152.'

Loewenthal gives the date as ۱۰۵۲ (1052) in the text of the inscription, and 1056 in his translation. Both the dates are wrong. The date 1056 in translation is evidently wrong, as he seems to have read the Persian numeral ۲ two for ۶ six. As to 1052, that also is wrong, because the chronogram of the date باد فیض جاری gives 1152 as the date and not 1052. I think that Loewenthal seems to have omitted to read the first number 'one' and seems to have taken a nuṭṭah under a Persian letter in the line above to be a figure for a zero and so read ۱۰۵۲ (1052) for ۱۱۵۲ (1152). The above chronogram thus gives the date as 1152. (ج=3, ا=1, ر=200, ی=10, ف=80, ی=10, ض=800, م=40, ل=1, ب=2, ل=1, د=4).

The builder of the well, Maḥmūd, referred to in the above inscription, was, as I was told at the Masjid. one (خواجہ محمود) Khwaja Maḥmūd Dideh-mārī. I was told, that he is referred to in a book called *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. He was a merchant and had also built a tank in Qariah-i Chera in the

⁶⁶ *Jarayan*, "flowing or running."

⁶⁷ *Tafazzul*. ⁶⁸ *Iltijā*.

⁶⁹ *Ward*, "practice of speaking often."

⁷⁰ *Bunyan*. ⁷¹ *Allahum* God.

⁷² *Ghifar* "Pardoner, God." ⁷³ *Al bani*. ⁷⁴ *Al Walid*.

province (paragneh) of Cheharat (چهارت). He was known as Maḥmūd Didah-mari from the name of his place. I was told that the name of the place was connected with the visit of, and stay at, the place by Nūr Jehān. She was spoken of as the Dideh (eye) for her beauty.

AN INSCRIPTION AT HAZRAT-BAL.

The Shrine of This shrine is situated on the Dal lake. As said
Hazrat Bāl. by Sir W. Lawrence : ⁷⁵

“The sanctity of Hazrat Bāl is due to the presence of one of the Prophet's hairs, which was brought to Kashmir from Medina by Saiyid ‘Abdullāh in 1111 A.H. Saiyid ‘Abdullāh sold the hair to a merchant, Nūr Dīn, for one lakh of rupees, and Nūr Dīn exhibited the relic in Srinagar. . . . Four other shrines in Srinagar boast that they possess a hair of the Prophet. . . . The hairs are exhibited six times in the year at the various shrines, but the villagers all go to the Hazrat Bāl shrine.”

I had the pleasure of seeing it in the month of May or June during my second visit to Kashmir. The following inscription in the Shrine refers to the hair :

محتاجان را بوقت حاجت طلبی
موی مدد دست رسول عربی
تاریخ نزول با یکی هاتف گفت
کشمیر مدینه بشد از موی نبی
۱۱۱۱ هجری

Translation.

“To the needy, at the time of their solicitation, the hair of the Prophet of Arabia is a help. A guardian angel (hātif) said to one, as the date of its arrival, ‘Kashmir became Madineh by the hair of the Prophet.’ Hijri 1111.”

The last line forming the chronogram thus gives us the date of the arrival of the hair from Madineh as 1111 Hijri (1699 A.C.) :

کشمیر مدینه بشد از موی نبی
= 570 + 109 + 306 + 8 + 56 + 62
= 1111.

It is said of the above Nūr Dīn (خواجہ نورالدین) that he lived in a village named Ishkhari. He had gone to Bijapur for trade, and while there, had purchased the hair from a Saiyid, who

⁷⁵ The Valley of Kashmir, p. 299.

said, he had brought it from Madineh. The hair was kept at first in the garden of Ṣādiq-khān (صادق خان), who was a great minister of the reign of Jehangir. He was a pious Mohammadan and had built the monastery of Shāikh Wajihu-d-din at Ahmedabad.⁷⁶ The hair was placed in a building in the garden of Ṣādiq Khān on the Dal lake and the place took the name of “Hazrat Bāl, *i.e.*, “the place (bāl) of the Hazrat (Prophet).” The word *bāl* may be taken to be arabic *bāl* meaning ‘heart soul’ or perhaps it is P. *bāl* meaning “the hair on the pubes” (Steingass. In Sanskrit also *bāl* बाल is hair.

We read the following inscription on a prominent place of Hazrat Bāl :

محمد عربی کابروی ہر دو سراست⁷⁷
کسیکے نیست خاک درش خاک بر سر او

Translation.

“May Dust be on the head of that person who is not (considering himself as) the dust of the door of him, *i.e.*, Muḥammed-e-‘Arabī (*i.e.*, of Arabia) who is (the source of) honour to both the worlds.”

AN INSCRIPTION ON A BRIDGE AT RENAWARI.

We find the following inscription on a bridge at Renāwar on our way to the Dal lake by boat :

بر سنگ نوشته بود نقاش
دنیا نکند وفا تو خوش باش
گر جمع کنی تمام عالم
با خود نہی دو دانہ خشکاش

Translation.

“The sculptor had written on a stone : ‘The world is not faithful. You be cheerful. Even if you gather (in life) the whole world you will not carry (on death) two grains of poppy.’ ”

⁷⁶ See *Memoirs of Jehangir*, by Rogers and Beveridge, I., p. 425.

⁷⁷ We find this inscription quoted in a votive tablet at the Masjid of Shāh Hamadān.

AN INSCRIPTION ON THE ZIYĀRAT GĀH OF SHĀH MAKHDŪM.

The year 1915, the year of my third visit to Kashmir, was a year of scarcity. The rain had kept off. I would have ordinarily visited this Masjid, but I was specially drawn towards it by a rain-imploping ceremony, which lasted for several days and which I saw first on 8th June 1918 on the banks of the Jhelum near the mosque of Shāh Hamadān. I saw a number of Mohammadans filling up *gharrahs* (water-pots) with water from the river Jhelum. They got these pots blessed at the Masjid and carried them to a tank near Hari Parbat, a hill fort of Akbar. The tank was near the tomb of Pīr Makhdūm. I was told, that all the Mohammadans of Kashmir, male or female, old or young, adults or children, would thus, at their leisure, carry water from the Jhelum and pour it in the above tank. At least, one member of each family must be one of such carriers. They did so for a number of days, till the tank was full. When I visited the tank on the 10th of June, it was a sight to see a number of people, devotionally carrying the water from different directions and trying to fill up the tank. It then still wanted a few feet to be filled up.

*Shāh Makhdūm
and a Rain cere-
mony connected
with his name.*

The water could be brought from any part of the river or lake, but they thought it meritorious to take it from the river near the mosque of Shāh Hamadān. Monday and Friday were the days when they most did the work of carrying the water. It was Monday when I visited the tomb of Shāh Makhdūm and the tank near it. So, I saw hundreds of people coming to the tank with their water-pots and emptying them there. Some came in processions with banners and drums. Having poured the water into the tank, they applied the water of the tank to their eyes. The tank is about 30 square feet. The ceremony of filling it up had begun about 5 or 6 days before my visit and they expected that it would take still about 5 days to fill it up.

The ceremony was supposed to be a rite of humiliation before God asking for forgiveness of sins, if that was the cause of His displeasure and of His keeping off the rain. It is in keeping with a recent inscription put up there as a votive inscription (1326 Hijri).

یک نظر بر حال زار عاصی بیچاره کن
زان نظرهای که خاک تیره را چون زر شدست

Translation.

"Have a look on the miserable condition of a helpless sinner—a look whereby the darkest of dust becomes (brilliant) like gold."

The reason, why Shāh Makhdūm was specially invoked and why the tank near his tomb was the scene of a rain-ceremony, seems to be, that he had once uttered a curse in the matter of water.

"He had no honour in his own village (Tajar), and his companions laughed at his preaching and his prophecies, and insisted on his taking his share in the *corvée* of the village. Makhdūm Şahib or Hazrat Sultān as he is often called, left Tajar and cursed his people—they should want water not only for their crops, but even for their drink. The curse came true for Tajar and Zainagir are dry to this day."⁷⁸

It was during this visit that I copied the following inscription on the gate of the tomb of shāh Makhdūm:

باب و آب و تاب از مهر عالم تاب
بحال ما که کج کل دیده از خاک درت داریم
بدل گفتم که خواهم در تاریخی بکف آرم
ملک دست دعا برداشت من آمین کمان گفتم
تعالی الله چنین باید در عالی جناب ما
الهی باد در هر باب زین در فتح باب ما
سنه ۱۲۷۲

Translation.

"The door, the splendour and the (awe-striking) light (of this place come) from the world illuminating sun (Meher). I keep myself in this condition that the collyrium of my eyes is from the dust of your door (*i.e.* I humiliate myself). I said to myself: 'I wish to bring the pearl of the date in my hands.' The angel raised his hands for prayers. Uttering 'Amen'. I said: 'God is exalted. The door of my respected great ones should be like this, O God!

⁷⁸ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

May my door be opened (lit. conquered) in every matter by (the help of) this door (*i.e.* May my visit of the door of this Ziyarat-gāh always help me in every direction)."

The date is the date of the last reparation of the Masjid. The last line of the inscription serves as the chronogram of that date 1272.*

* The figures are as follows :—

ا = 1 ل = 30 ز = 5 ي = 10 ب = 2 ا = 1 د = 4
 د = 4 ر = 200 ز = 5 ر = 200 ب = 2 ا = 1
 ب = 2 ز = 7 ي = 10 ن = 50 د = 4 ر = 200
 ف = 80 ت = 400 ح = 8 ب = 2 ا = 1 ب = 2
 = 40 ا = 1

The whole gives 1272 as the date.

THE STORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE POISON-DAMSEL OF INDIA. A TRACE OF IT IN FIRDOUSI'S SHĀH-NĀMEH

BY DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

[Read on 4th February 1926.]

I.

INTRODUCTION

Last year, when I was in England, I had the pleasure of reading a Paper before the Folklore Society of London, on 17th June 1925, on the subject of "The Vish-kanyā (विष-कन्या) or Poison-damsel of Ancient India, illustrated by the story of Susan Ramashgar in the Persian Burzo-nāmeḥ."¹ The subject of that paper was suggested to me by an inquiry in January 1924 from Mr. N. M. Penzer through Mr. R. E. Enthoven, asking for some information on Poison-damsel in Indian Literature. Mr. Penzer himself had gathered information from Indian books, but he wanted some further information, if available. Now, since his first inquiry, Mr. Penzer has published the second volume of his "Ocean of Story,"² and it is the third Appendix of this volume, for which he had sought further information from the members of my Anthropological Society, that has suggested to me the subject of this paper.

II.

WHAT IS A POISON-DAMSEL.

It is said of an ancient king that, as one of the means of defence against an invading enemy, "he tainted, by means of

¹ A brief paper on this subject was at first read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay and that paper was subsequently developed and read before the Folklore Society.

² The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or ocean of streams of story), now edited with Introduction, fresh Explanatory Notes and Terminal Essay by N. M. Penzer, in ten Volumes, Vol. II, Appendix III, p. 275.
J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. III.

poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison-damsels as dancing girls among the enemy's host, and he also despatched nocturnal assassins into their midst." ³ We find, that even in modern warfare, they resort to some such means. For example, the excreting gas, first discovered by the Germans in the late great world war of 1914-18, was a means of that kind. ⁴ The jets of the gas poisoned the air on the side of the enemy and blinded them.

Now, as to the Vish-kanyā or a Poison-damsel, she was a beautiful young girl employed by a person to bring about the death of an enemy. She enticed him in her trap in some way or another by her fascinating beauty. From all that we read about them, we learn, that these Poison-damsels were of various types. I give below, what I have said of these various types in my above previous paper :—

- (1) " A poison-damsel, in the original sense of the word seems to mean a damsel who does harm deceitfully in some way or other to another person.
- (2) " She is one, born under an inauspicious configuration or conjugation of planets. So, she does harm to one who marries her. It is this view, that seems to have led, and even now seems to lead, many Indian parents to resort to an astrologer to ascertain, whether the planets, under the influence of which their children are born, are of the same conjunction or not. The happiness or otherwise of marriage

³ *Ibid.* 1, p. 275.

⁴ It appears from the Shāh-nāmeḥ of Firdousi that there was something of this sort in remote ancient times. For example, King Kāus and a number of his army were blinded by the enemy when they invaded the country of Māzandarān, etc. It was after some time that Rustam relieved them, and, procuring an antedote cured them (Warner Brothers' Shāhnāma, Vol. II, p. 40; Kutar Brothers' Gujarāti Shāh-nāmeḥ, Vol. II, p. 99; Dastur Minocheher's Gujarāti Shāh-nāmeḥ, Vol. I, p. 538; Mohl's small edition, Vol. I, p. 398; Rogers' abridged Shāhnāma, p. 132. For the Persian Text, vide Macan's Shāh-nāmeḥ I. n. 240; Vüller's Shāhname I. n. 329.)

depends upon that. The custom is spoken of as *raç jorâvvi*, (रास जेवराववी) i.e., to get the route (of the planets) seen (by an astrologer).

- (3) "A damsel who is, in some way or other, so much poisoned or infected with a disease, that she is likely to convey her poison or infectious disease to the person, who has intercourse with her or who comes into some form of close contact with her, and to bring about his death. A woman infected with a venereal disease is a poison-damsel of this kind.
- (4) "A damsel who has actually saturated her body with gradual doses of poison, and who, therefore, is in a state believed to be likely to convey the poison of her body, so saturated, to another person who comes into contact with her. The *Gesta Romanorum* (11th tale) is said to refer to the story of an Indian queen, sending a poison-damsel to Alexander the Great and of Aristotle frustrating her plan. This poison-damsel seems to be of this kind.
- (5) "A damsel who treacherously captivates the heart of a person, and then actually gives him some poison in food or drink."

III.

THE STORY OF ALEXANDER AND THE POISON-DAMSEL

Mr. Penzer gives the story of Alexander the Great and the Indian Poison-damsel, on the authority of a Latin work called *Secretum Secretorum*, *De Secretis Secretorum* or *De Regimine Principum*. The book had some other titles also: "It purported to be nothing less than a collection of the most important and secret communications sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great when he was too aged to attend his pupil in person. Such letters had been circulated from the earliest times, but here was a treatise containing not only the essence of political wisdom and state-craft,

but regulations for the correct conduct of body and mind, and an insight into the mysteries of occult lore.”⁵

Mr. Penzer thus speaks of this work : “ The Secretum, however, is not reckoned among Aristotle’s genuine works, but as one of a number of unauthenticated treatises which, reflecting as it does theories and opinions contained in his famous philosophical writings, was readily accepted as a work of the Master himself.”⁶

Now, as to the contents of this book, which he calls “ a certain Pseudo-Aristotelean work,”⁷ specially referring to the subject of our paper, Mr. Penzer speaks thus :

“ According to the text, Aristotle is warning Alexander against entrusting the care of his body to women, and to beware of deadly poisons which had killed many kings in the past. He further advises him not to take medicines from a single doctor, but to employ a number, and act only on their unanimous advice. Then, as if to prove the necessity of his warnings, he recalls a great danger which he himself was able to frustrate. ‘ Remember,’ he says, ‘ what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she

⁵ *Ibid*; p. 287. We find an instance of such “ Most important and secret communications sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great ” in the letter of Dastur Tansar to the King of Tabaristan. Alexander the Great had not only destroyed the ancient literature and religion of Persia, but had also thought of putting to death the aristocracy of Persia with a view, that thereby, he might have no fear of a powerful rise in revolt by the Persians when he advanced to India. But it was Aristotle who, by a letter, dissuaded him from doing such a base act. (*Vide* the *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, Tome III, Mars-Avril 1894, pp. 185-250, and Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 502-555). *Vide*, for a brief account of this letter, my “ Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of view,” pp. 33-35; *vide* for an account of this letter my *Iranian Essays* (Gujarati) Part III, pp. 127-44.

⁶ *The Ocean of Story, op cit*, Vol. II, p. 287.

⁷ *Ibid*. p. 288.

would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she would surely have killed thee'." ⁸

IV.

THE SOURCE OR SOURCES OF THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELEAN WORK, THE SECRETUM SECRETORUM.

According to Mr. Penzer,⁹ the Latin work appeared in the twelfth century, and there were two recensions, a longer and a shorter one, both resting upon Greek originals. "A Syrian freedman under the Khalifa al-Ma'mun (*circa* 800)," named "Yahya ibn Baṭriq, *i.e.*, John, the Son of Patricius," had first discovered the work in "the Temple of the Sun dedicated to Æsculapius (Asklepios). It was written in letters of gold, and he immediately translated it first into Rumi (Syriac) and then from Rumi into Arabic." The Greek text does not exist. There is also a Hebrew version, which is quite as old as any of the complete texts. It is now almost universally recognised as the work of Judah Al-Ḥarizī, who flourished in the early thirteenth century."^{9a} Later on further chapters were added.

Then Mr. Penzer says: "The medical knowledge displayed in the enlarged chapters places the author in the eighth or ninth century, but when restored to their original proportions, we can reduce the date by at least a century. Scholars are agreed that there is no Greek text in existence, and no proof that it ever did exist. Now if we look more closely into the longer Arabic and Hebrew texts, we find that the background of the book is wholly Eastern—Persian and Indian—while, on the other hand, there is hardly a mention of Greece. If any analogy or simile is needed, it is the sayings and doings of Persians or Indians that are quoted. The allusion to chess,¹⁰ the occurrence of Eastern place-names and animals, all tend to point to the influence under which the *Secretum* really originated. Among similar Eastern works, whose history is now

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 291.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 287-88.

^{9a} *Ibid.* p. 289.

¹⁰ For this subject of the Origin of Chess in the East, *vide* my paper before this Society entitled "Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess" (*Jour. B.B.R.A.S.* XIX, pp. 224-36. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part I, pp. 85-98).

fairly completely known, may be mentioned Syntipas, Kalilah and Barlaam and Josephat.¹⁰ All these slowly migrated westwards, changing their character with their environment, and readily adapting themselves to any new purpose for which they might be wanted."

Now, I agree with Mr. Penzer that the origin of the Pseudo-Aristotelian work, *Secretum Secretorum* is Eastern—Persian and Indian. As far as we know, no Indian version of the story of Alexander and the Poison-damsel of India is known to exist. So, we have no materials to compare the Western version of the story with any Indian version. But I beg to show in this paper that we have a Persian version of the story giving us pretty sufficient materials for comparison. Again, that Persian version seems to have come, like the three stories above referred to, from the Pahlavi.

THE PAHLAVI ORIGIN OF SOME INDIAN STORIES MIGRATING TO THE WEST.

We know that all the above three stories which originated in India, passed to the West through Iran or Persia and through the Pahlavi books of Iran.

(a) For the first story of Syntipas (Sindibad), I beg to refer my readers to my Paper before this Society, entitled "The so-called Pahlavi Origin of Sindibād-nāmeḥ or the Story of the Seven Wise Masters."¹¹ In that paper, I have shown that, though we cannot directly trace the story to any extant Pahlavi book, we can trace it to the story of Kaus, Soudabeh and Siavakhsh in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of Firdousi, who had taken most of his materials from Pahlavi.

(b) As to the second story of Barlaam and Josephat, I will quote here in full what I have said on this subject in my Paper before my Anthropological Society, entitled "The German Kaiser William in the Incantations of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and the Iranian King Faridun in the Incantations of the ancient Persians."¹²

^{10a} For this story *vide* Barlaam and Josephat, by Joseph Jacobs (1816).

¹¹ Jour. B.B.R.A.S. XVIII, pp. 206-12. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 45-52.

¹² Jour. Anthropol. Soc. of Bombay Vol. X pp. 615-35. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II (pp. 234-54) pp. 241-42.

"The Christian story of Barlaam and Josephat, is believed by many Christian scholars to be the Christianised version of the legendary history of Buddha Sakya Muni, one of whose titles is Bodhisatva. Prof. MacDonnel says: 'That the founder of an atheistic oriental religion should have developed into a Christian saint is one of the most astounding facts in religious history.'¹³ We have an interesting account of this transference in Jacob's Barlaam and Josaphat.¹⁴ The author of this book, in his learned Introduction, presents interesting evidence to show that, in about the 5th or 6th century, Buddhistic legends and doctrines¹⁵ went to Syria and got mixed up with the Christian dogmas and legends prevalent there. The Indian Zarmanochegas¹⁶ by name, a native of Barygasa¹⁷ referred to by Strabo as having gone to the court of Augustus Cæsar from Barygaza from the Indian king Porus,¹⁸ the 'sovereign of 600 kings,'¹⁹ and who is said to have immortalized himself

¹³ Prof. MacDonnel's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 420.

¹⁴ Barlaam and Josaphat, English Lives of Buddha, edited and introduced by Joseph Jacobs.

¹⁵ "The pith of what this author says is this: Both Buddha and Christ represent the ideals of a whole continent. Buddha represents Asia's ideal "To be," while Christ represents that of Europe "To Do." Buddha is a *contemplative Sage*, Christ a *beneficent Saint*. But, though their aims are different, their methods are similar. They both fight against the world. The similarity of the schemes of both consists of the following: The legends of both present parallels of (a) the Annunciation, (b) the Massacre of the Innocents, (c) the Temptation in the Wilderness, (d) the Marriage at Cana, (e) the Walking on the Water, (f) the Transfiguration. (g) Again, both taught by parables, some of which are well-nigh the same, e.g., those of the Sower, the Prodigal son, Seed and Soil. (g) Both lay stress upon the Spirit against the Letter and upon the opposition between Riches and Spiritual ty and upon inward Purity. (h) Both recommend a Brotherhood or Church. (i) Even the formalities of some of their rituals is the same."

¹⁶ "Supposed to be another form of Zarmanus, or Garmanus, another form of Sarmanas, a sect of Indian philosophers."

¹⁷ "Another form of Barygaza which is Baroatsch, Barutsch or Broach."

¹⁸ "A general name of Indian kings."

¹⁹ "Strabo, Bk. XV, Chap. I. 73. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 119."

Whatever be the way, in which the story of Buddha went to the West, the fact is, that Buddha, as a great and pious ethical teacher, was somehow sanctified in the Christian Church. In the Greek Church, also known as the Orthodox Eastern Church, his feast day is 26th August. In the Martyrologium of the Roman Church, it is 27th November. It is said that even a Church (Divo Josaphat) is dedicated to him at Palermo."

(c) As to the origin of the story of Kalileh and Damneh, known in the West as the story of Bid-pāi, it is so well known, that I need not dilate upon it. The story passed from India to the West *via* Iran and through Pahlavi, and we know well, that the Persian Anvār-i- Sohili is a later form of it.

Like the above three stories, the origin of our story in question is Indo-Persian. Its migration is in the following order : Indian—Pahlavi—Greek—Syrian—Arabic—Latin. Or, it may be in the following order : Indian—Pahlavi—Arabic—Latin. The story, on going to the West, had been given in the following various languages : Arabic, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, Provençal, Dutch, French and English.

A FEW POINTS COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS VERSIONS.

We collect the following points from the above versions of Alexander's story as given in an old Hebrew version of Aristotle's story :

1. An Indian king sent rich gifts to Alexander.
2. One of the rich gifts was a " beautiful maiden " whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake. According to some Arabic texts, it was the mother of the king who sent the damsel, and, according to others, it was the queen who sent her.
3. Aristotle saved Alexander from the grasp of the maiden.
5. According to an Arabic text, Aristotle knew the practices of Indian kings and physicians in such matters.
6. The maiden was one " who thought to rouse his (Alexander's) passion " (Spanish version, Perzer op. cit. p. 292).

7. Aristotle was "versed in astronomy." By "astronomy" what seems to have been meant is "astrology," whereby he foresaw the fraudulent stratagem of the Indian king.
8. The damsel was brought up on poison from infancy. She gave.....'poisoned words'—that is to say, the breath from her mouth when speaking was poisonous—and her look also brought on sudden death. . . A master saw through this and gave the king a herb to put in his mouth, which freed him from all danger. (German version by Frauenlob, a German poet of the 13th Century, Penzer op. cit. p. 292). Mr. Penzer says : "The idea of the miraculous herb is entirely new and seems to have been an invention of the poet " (p. 293).
9. "A certain king was once informed by a sooth-sayer that a child, named Alexander, had just been born who was destined to be his downfall. On hearing this discouraging news, the king thought of an ingenious way in which to get rid of the menace, and gave strict orders for several infant girls of good family to be nourished on deadly poison.....Once the king was besieged by a powerful army and he sent this maiden by night into the enemy's camp..... As soon as he (the besieging king) kissed her he fell dead to the ground.....Delighted with the success of his experiment, the king ordered the damsel to be even better cared for, and nourished with even purer poison than hitherto. Meanwhile Alexander, grown to manhood, had started his campaigns, besieged and conquered Darius, and made his name feared throughout the world. Then the king.....had five maidens beautifully attired, the fifth being the poisoned damsel ;.... these he sent to Alexander, ostensibly as a mark of his love and obedience Alexander..... rushed to embrace her. But Aristotle, a wise and learned man of the court, and Socrates, the king's tutor, recognised

the poisonous nature of the maiden and would not let Alexander touch her.....Then Alexander had her beheaded and her body burnt." (A French prose version of the early fourteenth century, *Ibid.* pp. 292-293.)

10. "A wise queen in the land of Sizire.....discovered by her magical art that a son of Olympus, Alexander by name, would one day deprive her of her kingdom..... She first procured Alexander's portrait,²¹ and seeing that his features betrayed a sensual nature, made her plans accordingly.....The queen put "a baby-girl, just born," into one of the big eggs of a snake which "are as big as bushel baskets....and the snake-mother hatched it out with her other eggs." The baby-girl was fed by the mother snake. "She could not speak, and only hissed like a snake, and any one coming near her too often either died or fell into disease.....The queen gradually taught her to speak.....She grew into one of the most beautiful creatures in the world with a face like an angel." Then, when Alexander arrived in her country, the queen "offered him the girl, with whom he at once fell in love, saying to Aristotle, 'I will lie with her'." But Aristotle dissuaded him from doing so, saying and proving that the girl was poisonous.

Aristotle's method of proving that the girl was poisonous is interesting from an Indian point of view, as we hear here various stories of snake charmers and snake cures. He first got a poisonous snake shut up in a jar, and there and then, with the juice of fresh dittany "drew a circle round the jar about an ell away from it." Then on the jar being opened, the snake tried to run out, but

²¹ Here, there is an indirect instance of an evil influence being exerted upon the person by his enemy through his portrait. The belief is still held in India by many, and so, we hear of instances of some people being altogether averse to being photographed. *Vide* my paper, entitled "The Indian custom of a Husband or Wife not naming his Wife or her Husband" before the Bombay Anthropological Society, read on 31st August 1921 (*Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (pp. 301-11) p. 316. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part III, p. 129.)

could not go out of the enchanted circle drawn by Aristotle with the juice of dittany²² and soon died. Then Aristotle made the above girl, with two others that were not poisoned, stand in a place and similarly drew round them a circle with the juice of the dittany. Then, when he called them to come out of the enchanted or magic circle, the two unpoisoned damsels ran out, but the poisoned one could not, and, shortly after, feeling choked, died like the above mentioned snake ²³.

In the above particulars of the story, one particular is a direct reference to intercourse with the damsel. Alexander wanted to have it and Aristotle prevented him from having it. This has led Mr. Penzer to refer to the intercourse being dangerous on account of some kind of venereal disease.

V.

FIRDOUSI'S VERSION OF THE STORY.

Now, as said above, Mr. Penzer speaks of the back-ground of the Western story as Eastern—as Persian and Indian. As far as we know, we have no Indian book or writing to show positively that the back-ground is Indian. It may be Indian or it may not be so. But we have enough literary materials to show, that it is Persian. We find what may be called a trace of the story in Firdousi's *Shāh-Nāme*h. Firdousi describes the story, not the

²² Dittany is "a plant growing in abundance and perfection on Mounts Dicté and Ida in Crete." It is "the *Dictamnus ruber* or *albus*. Its leaves in smell resemble lemon-thyme and yield an essential oil" (Webster). On inquiry from the Professor of Botany in the Elphinstone College, I learn that the plant has no known Marathi name and that the plant occurs in the temperate Western Himalayas.

²³ In the above story, we find a child fed by snakes. Cases of human children being fed by animals, at times by ferocious animals, are said to have occurred in India. I know the case of a wolf-boy who was so fed by a she-wolf. I myself had seen the boy in Agra. (*Vide* my Paper before the Bombay Natural History Society, on 7th May 1889, entitled "Recorded instances of children nourished by wolves, and birds of prey." *Vide* my *Asiatic papers*, Part II, pp. 197-200.)

whole story as found in later books, but a trace of the story, on the authority of Pahlavi writers.²⁴ Firdousi says :

There was a wise Indian king named Kaid (کید). He saw continually for 10 nights certain dreams. Nobody in his court could explain the dreams and he was referred to a learned man named Mehrān (مهراں), who lived in a wilderness in the midst of wild animals. The king went to the place where Mehrān lived in the wilderness and narrated his ten dreams to him and asked for an explanation. The wise man explained and said, that all the dreams predicted the coming of Sikander (Alexander) from Roum and Iran, with a large army, under selected officers. The king would have no cause to be afraid of him if he presented to him the four rare things (*chār chīz*)²⁵ which he possessed. These were : (1) A beautiful girl.²⁶ (2) A philosopher who revealed all the mysteries of the world. (3) A clever physician. (4) A cup in which water never got heated, when placed on fire, and was never finished, how much-so-ever people drank out of it. What was predicted by Mehrān turned out to be true, and Alexander invaded Kaid's dominions and sent him a letter, asking him to surrender. The Indian king²⁷ wrote in reply, offering his homage and his above four rare things. Alexander was pleased to learn this and he sent his messengers to the court of the Indian king to have a description of the four rare things. The Indian king then described before the messengers his four rare things. He first described the beauty of the girl. From what the king

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چنین گفت گویند پهلوی
شگفته آید ت کاین سخن بشنوی

Macan's Calcutta Edition 1829, III, p. 1290. Kutar Brothers' Text in Guj-rati, Vol. VII, p. 57. Translation by Dastur Minocher J. Jamaspasa, Vol. III, p. 291. Translation of Warner Brothers, Vol. VI, p. 91. These brothers take the word Pahlavi to be a common name and translate it as "Days of Old". Mohl's small edition, Vol. V, p. 89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1292, l. 20.

²⁶ The Pers. word, 'dukhtar' means a daughter, as well as a girl, a maiden.

²⁷ Capt. Wilberforce Clarke thinks that this Indian king may be the king Taxalus of the Greeks. The *Sikandar Nama e Bara*, translated by Capt. W. Clarke.

said, it appears that the girl was not the king's own daughter, as we may at first be led to believe by the use of the word 'dukhtar' (daughter, Sans. *dohitri*). The Indian king, while describing her beauty, speaks of her descent as that from a Sepehbūd²⁸ i.e., the commander of an army.

Thereafter, Alexander sent, with a letter,²⁹ ten of his ministers to see the girl and the other three rare things. The Indian king welcomed them. They first saw the girl and were struck with wonder at her extraordinary beauty. They then wrote, each separately in his own words, to Alexander and described the extraordinary beauty of the girl. Alexander was pleased with what he read. and sent a message to them to return with the four rare things offered by the Indian king. They did so. The beautiful girl (fughistan)³⁰ shed tears when she left the court of the Indian king. Alexander was much pleased to see her and exclaimed that she was "the lamp of the world."³¹ He then married her with religious rites.

Firdousi then proceeds to describe Alexander's inspection of the other rare things, the philosopher, the physician and the cup. It is in the account of his interview with the physician that we

²⁸ *Sepehbud nezād ast va yazdān parast i. e.*, She is descended from a commander of an army and is a worshipper of God. M. Mohl. translated this line as : " C'est une fille de rois, elle adore Dieu." (Mohl's small ed. Vol. V, p. 100). He does not represent the king as speaking of the girl, as " my daughter " but speaks of her as one of " royal descent ". The word *sepīh* means a soldier.

²⁹ Macan's Calcutta Ed. (III, p. 1297) gives the number as ten. So do the Kutar Brothers in their Gujarati Transliteration and Translation, Vol. III, p. 17. Dastur Minocheher also gives the number as ten. But Mohl gives the number as nine (small ed., V, p. 101).

³⁰ *فغستان* The word may be read as " fughistan " and means " a handsome person " or as " fugsutān " and may mean " the favourite wife " or mistress of the king (Steingass).

³¹ Kin (ke in) *ast oheragh-i-Jehan*." Macan and Kutar Brothers give the words as " Kinat oheragh-i Jehan " and take them to be addressed to God, as " O God ! this is your lamp." But I think, that the text followed by Mohl (Small ed. V, p. 105) is correct and the words are "kin ast " and not " kinat."

find a reference again to Alexander's relation with a woman, though the above particular girl is not mentioned. Firdousi says of the physician that he knew what poison was and what the antidote of poison was. Immediately after his mention of the physician's knowledge of poison and its antidote, he refers to the sexual life of Alexander. I give my translation of what Firdousi says on this subject, following the text of Macan's Calcutta edition.³²

"He (the physician) possessed much of knowledge (or wisdom, *dānāi*). He knew poison (*i.e.*, what poison was) and the antidote of poison (*paī-zehr*³³). He cut several mountain-herbs and rejected those which were useless, selected those that were pure remedies and mixed (with them) medicines (*dārū*) as required. He washed his (Alexander's) body with mountain-medicines and kept him always healthy. He (Alexander) did not sleep much at night but mixed himself well in all pleasures. His head was full of work with women and sought of having a soft thing on his breast.³⁴ So, the king began to be reduced. He did not care well for his body. One day, the physician came before Alexander and found the signs of reduction from the moisture of his eyes³⁵ and said: From too much intercourse³⁶ with women, even a young

³² Vol. III, p. 1302 l.12. The *Sekander-nameh* of Nizami gives the four rare things in the following order (1) The King's daughter. (2) The Cup. (3) The Philosopher and (4) The Physician. (The *Sikandar namah e Barā*, or Book of Alexander the Great, written A.D. 1200 by Abu Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Abu Ayyid-i-Nizāmu-d-din, translated by Capt. H. Wilberforce Clarke (1881), p. 573. For Nizami, *vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 9-16).

³³ Another form or word for this *paī-zehr* is *Bād-zehr* from which is derived by Webster our English word "bezoar." Webster says of bezoar: "Fr. bezoard, Pers. *bād-zahr*, the bezoar-stone from *bād* wind and *zahr* poison; literally, wind of poison *i.e.*, that, which, like the wind, disperses or drives away the poison." I think the proper derivation is not from Pers. *bād* wind, but from Pers. *bād*, power, guardian, which is another form of *pāi* which means power, resistance. So *paī-zehr* is that which offers resistance to, or cures, poison.

³⁴ This line seems to mean that he sought to have the soft embraces of women.

³⁵ Perhaps, what is meant to be said is, that the king wept on account of his unbearable illness.

³⁶ Lit. sleeping and rising.

man undoubtedly becomes an old man. I am of opinion, that for three nights you have been without sleep (on account of too much intercourse). Tell me your secret and open your lips for that. Alexander said: 'I am all right. I have no disease (azār)³⁷ in my body.' That eminent³⁸ wise man (*i.e.*, physician) of Hindustan did not agree in that affair (*i.e.*, with what Alexander said). When night fell, he looked into the writings *i.e.*, books and purchased medicine for remedying the diminution (or consumption of his body). Then, on that night, Alexander slept alone and had no intercourse with the moon-faced girl. When the physician (pazashk)³⁹ came the next morning, he found, seeing from his eyes, that he was (*i.e.*, he slept that night) without her mistress (bi-yār). He threw off the medicine (which he had prepared for the king) and sat cheerful and took a cup (of drink) cheerfully in his hand and ordered table to be spread and asked for musicians and wine⁴⁰. The king (Alexander) asked him: 'Why have you thrown away this thing which you had with some trouble prepared with medicine.' He (the physician) replied: 'Last night, the king of the world (*i.e.*, Your Majesty) did not wish for intercourse with the mistress and slept alone. So, Your Majesty, when you sleep alone, there is no need for medicine (*i.e.*, medicine is not necessary) for thee.' Alexander laughed and was pleased with him "

One must read this account of Firdousi, as it were, beneath the lines. The mention of poison and counter-poison, the gradual diminution of the healthy appearance of the king when he slept with the Indian girl, his recovery of good looks when he kept away from her,—all these point to the Indian girl being the poison-

³⁷ The word "azār" ordinarily means a disease, but in a colloquial sense, it is taken to mean "the disease" *i.e.*, the venereal disease.

³⁸ Pasandīd *i.e.*, the elected, the best.

³⁹ The word 'physician' comes from Pers. pazashk which comes from Avesta Baeshaza.

⁴⁰ What is meant is this: The physician found that Alexander, having kept away in the previous night from the company of the mistress (whom I take as a poison-damsel), looked well. So, he saw no necessity of giving him any medicine as an antidote for the poison and was delighted and made himself merry.

damsel, with whom the story, as known in the West in its various versions, associates Alexander. It seems that, as said by Firdousi himself in the beginning, the poet had the story in Pahlavi before him. The subject of intercourse with women, not being a decorous or descent subject to be written upon openly, the Pahlavi writer must have written under some restraint. Firdousi also seems to have done the same. It is probable, that Firdousi may not have completely grasped the drift of the whole story. He is therefore not clear in his interpretation of the story.

There is one point in Mr. Penzer's account to which I like to draw attention here. He says (p. 308): "The most simple explanation of the true meaning of poisoning by intercourse which at once suggests itself is that it was merely venereal disease unrecognised as such." Mr. Penzer then says that "Syphilis was introduced into Europe by way of Spain in 1493 by Columbus' men."⁴¹ Further on, he says: "Syphilis appears to have been unknown in India till the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was introduced by the Portuguese."⁴² But if we take the word "azā" in the above description of Firdousi, in the sense of venereal disease, in which sense the word is ordinarily understood even now, at least in the Bombay Presidency, one may say, that Mr. Penzer's above explanation about the poison-damsel, being a girl infested with syphilis seems to be correct and his statement that syphilis was not known in India before the advent of the Portuguese to be incorrect.

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE WESTERN STORY AND FIRDOUSI'S STORY.

From the above account, we find, that there are a number of points of similarity between the *different* versions of the Western story and Firdousi's version of the Eastern story.

1. Both the stories refer to, what may be called, an extraordinary thing. The Western story refers in the beginning to a sooth-sayer and Firdousi's to a learned man, Mehran by name, who was an ascetic dream-reader.

⁴¹ P. 308. ⁴² P. 310.

2. In both the versions, there is a kind of prophecy,—in one case by the sooth-sayer and in the other by the dream-reader, saying that Alexander will invade India.
3. Both the stories refer to the presentation of rich gifts to Alexander by the Indian king, and to a young damsel as being one of these rich things.
4. Both the stories represent Alexander as falling in love with the damsel at first sight.
5. Both the stories represent a learned wise man as saving Alexander from mischief. In the Western story it is Aristotle who does so. In Firdousi's story, it is a physician—the very physician who was sent as a gift to Alexander by the Indian king.
6. In both versions, we find a reference to a herb as an antidote to the poison of the damsel. In the Eastern story, it was “a master” who saw through this and gave the king a herb. In Firdousi's story, the physician “cut several mountain-herbs” for the purpose.
7. In one of the versions of the Eastern story, the transference of the poison was through sexual intercourse. In Firdousi's story also it is the same.

VI.

MAÇOUDI'S REFERENCE TO FOUR RARE THINGS, AND, AMONG THEM, TO A MAIDEN.

We find a reference to these four rare possessions of the Indian king in the work of Maçoudi also. Abou'l-Haçan Ali Maçoudi, who was born at Bagdad in the end of the third century, had come to India. He was in Multan in Hijri 300 i.e., A. C. 912. He was in Cambay in about 916.⁴³ In his *Maruj Al Zahab* (Chap. XXVI),⁴⁴ he gives, what he speaks of as “an abridged History of the

⁴³ Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*. Texte et Traduction par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Vol. I, Avant Propos, p. III.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 280.

Expedition of Alexander in India." Therein, he says, that Alexander, after defeating king Porus, king of Mankir⁴⁵ (مانکیر), heard, that in further India there was a king named Kend⁴⁶ (کند), who was somewhat of a philosopher and an ascetic. He sent him a letter asking him to offer submission. Kend rendered submission offering his four rare possessions and a miraculous cup as tokens of submission. Of these four rare possessions, one was a young girl "the like of whose beauty the sun had never seen."⁴⁷ Alexander accepted the terms of submission and sent his ambassadors to bring these four things. The ambassadors went to the court of the Indian king, who welcoming them, produced before them the four rare things. The first that was produced before them was the young girl. "When she appeared before them, their eyes rested upon her. Alexander himself, when he saw her, was struck with her beauty."

⁴⁵ This seems to be modern Maghar in the district of Basti in the North-Western Provinces (*Vide* Constable's Hand Atlas of India, 1893), p. 47.

⁴⁶ This is another form of Firdousi's Kaid (کاید). Both these words can be written with the same forms of letters, with a change in the *nukteh*s of the second letter.

⁴⁷ I follow Barbier de Meynard's translation (Vo. II, p. 261). "Une jeune fille dont le soleil n'avait jamais vu l'égale pour la beauté."

A Note on two Chalukya Plates found at Dhamadachchha in the Naosari District (referred to in the "Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India. Western Circle", for the year ending 31st March 1918, Part II, A, Epigraphy pp. 35-36).

[This Note was, at first, sent by me to Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Superintendent of the Archæological Department of Western India, at Poona, on 7th June 1919. It was sent by him to the Librarian of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, without communicating to him my name. When Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator of the Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, edited the Plates and read a paper on the subject (Art. XII "Two Sets of Chālukya Copper plates from Navascri), he embodied my Note as an "Appendix A" (*vide* the Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 pp. 251-261 for the Paper and page 261 for my Note given as Appendix A.)]

In his "Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1918 (Part II A, Epigraphy pp. 35-36)", dated 1st September 1918, Mr. R. D. Banerji says as follows about two Chalukya Plates : "To the keen interest taken by Mr. P. B. Gothaskar, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the search of Indian antiquities, we owe the recovery of two interesting copper-plate charters purporting to be issued by the Chaulukya Karnadeva of Anahilapataka. It was after a great deal of trouble that Mr. Gothaskar succeeded in obtaining the loan of them from him (the owner) for the purpose of photographing them. The negatives have been purchased by me for this department, and will be filed in my office. It is intended to contribute a detailed descriptive note on them to the "Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society".

On inquiry from Mr. Gothaskar, in the middle of March 1919, I learnt that the Note had not been sent till then by Dr. Sukthankar, the assistant Superintendent, in whose hands

the photographs had been placed for publication¹. In the meantime this short Note has been intended to identify the places referred to in the plates and noticed in the above Report.

The plates are said to refer to the reign of the **Chālukya Karnadeva**. One gives as its date 996 Saka and the other 1131 of **Vikrama**. Both of them are made in favour of “**Brahmana Pandita Mahidhara**, son of **Rudrāditya** of the **Mandavya gotra**, who had come to **Nausari** from **Madhyadesa**” “by the **Mahamandalesvara Durlabharaja** belonging to a feudatory **Chaulukya** family of **Nāgasārikā** (**Naosari**), which acknowledged the suzerainty of the **Gujarat Chaulukyās of Anhilwāda**”. The grants are for one and the same village **Dhamanāchchha**. “The boundaries of the village are given as follows:—To the east, **Kālāgrāma**, to the south, **Toranagrāma**; to the west, **Avala** (or **Anvala**) **Sati-grama**; to the north, **Kachhāvali-grāma**”. **Mr. Banerji** identifies **Dhamalāchchha** with the present **Dhamadāchchhā** and **Toranagrāma** with **Taranagam**, and adds that “the other place-names remain unidentified”.

I beg to give here a small map of the locality round the village of the grant, as kindly drawn for me by **Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai** of **Naosari** from the **Baroda State map**. From this map we can identify the other places as follows:—

- (1) **Dhamalachchha**, the village which forms the subject of the grants is, as said by **Mr. Bannerji**, the present **Dhamadachchha**, the **Dhamdachha** of the map. My forefathers belonged to **Naosari**, and I remember hearing from boyhood that the mangoes which came to **Naosari** from **Dhamdachha-Kacholi** (ધામદાચ્છા કાચોલી) were the best of those that came to be sold there. It was this familiarity with the name of the village, which gave the best of its mangoes to **Naosari**, that has led me to look into the matter of these grants and to make further inquiries. There is a well-known mango-tree at **Dhamdachha** even now, known as **Dāramyo**

¹ I inquired again in October 1928 and learnt that no Note had been received.

āmbo (દારમિચો આંબો), *i.e.*, pomegranate-like mango-tree. Mr. Sorabji Desai informs me that it is at present mortgaged to his Desai family. The custom of possessing individual trees standing on the grounds of others, is an interesting custom.

While, on the subject of some individual peculiar mango-trees like the Dāramyō mango-tree of Dhamdachha, I may refer here for the information of botanists and others, to a mango-tree known as ચાલતો આંબો (*chāltō āmbo*), *i.e.*, a walking mango-tree, which we see at Sanjan, the town where the ancestors of the modern Parsees first landed in India after the downfall of the Persian Empire at the hands of the Arabs. It is an unique mango-tree, the like of which I have not seen anywhere else. It spreads in one direction and is therefore known as a walking mango-tree.

- (2) The village referred to in the grants as Kachchhavaligrāma, as being on the north of Dhamdachha, is Kachholi in the map. In connection with the above-mentioned famous mangoes, this village is always connected with Dhamdachha, and is spoken of as Dhamdachha-Kacholi, on the analogy of the names of cities and towns like Buda-Pesth, Bili-mora, Jehan-bordi, Dhamdachha is in the district of H. H. the Gaekwad and Kachheli in that of the British.
- (3) The Kalagrama of the Copper-plate grants, mentioned as situated on the east of the village granted, may be either the modern કલગમ (Khergam in the map) or Kalvach, most probably the latter.
- (4) The Toranagrāma on the south is, as identified in the Report, the modern Tarangam, the Torangam in the map.
- (5) The Avala Satigrama or Amvala Satigrama of the copper-plates, situated on the west, is the modern Amalsar or Amalsad, the Amalsad of the map. The adjoining Railway Station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway is known by that name.

Naosari is spoken of in the grants as Nagasarika. In many old Parsee documents, it is spoken as Nagmandal (નાગમંડલ).

The learned writer of the Report says "The curious circumstances regarding these grants which are dated on different days is that both of them are made in favour of the same person and convey the very same village. The wording of the grants, is however, quite different in the two plates. . . . It is as difficult to give a reason why two grants should have been made conveying the same village to the same person, as to explain the difference in the dates and the writing. It does appear though, as if the first set, namely the one that is evidently the better of the two, is the original, genuine document; the other seems to have been made later in imitation of it, as a substitute for it." I think the difficulty above referred to, is solved by what the writer says in the matter of, what he calls, the genuine document. He says: "It is perhaps worth noting that in the grant which is above held to be the original document, the portion containing the boundaries is written at the very end of the document and was added *seconda manu*,² which is palpably different from that in which the rest of the grant is written, and which rather resembles the clumsy lettering of the other grant under reference. The problems raised by this pair of grants cannot thus all be looked upon as solved".

I beg to explain the above difficulty as follows :—

The document was first drawn by somebody, say A, who was less of a lawyer. He did not mention the boundaries in the body of the document, as he ought to have done, to identify the village. There are many places which bear same names or similar names. So, to identify a village or a place, the mention of boundaries is necessary. The flaw in the first document, spoken of in the Reports as "original" or "genuine," may have been latterly observed by B, who may be a better lawyer or drawer of legal documents, though he wrote a rather crude or bad hand. He, at first thought of doing away with the flaw by writing the boun-

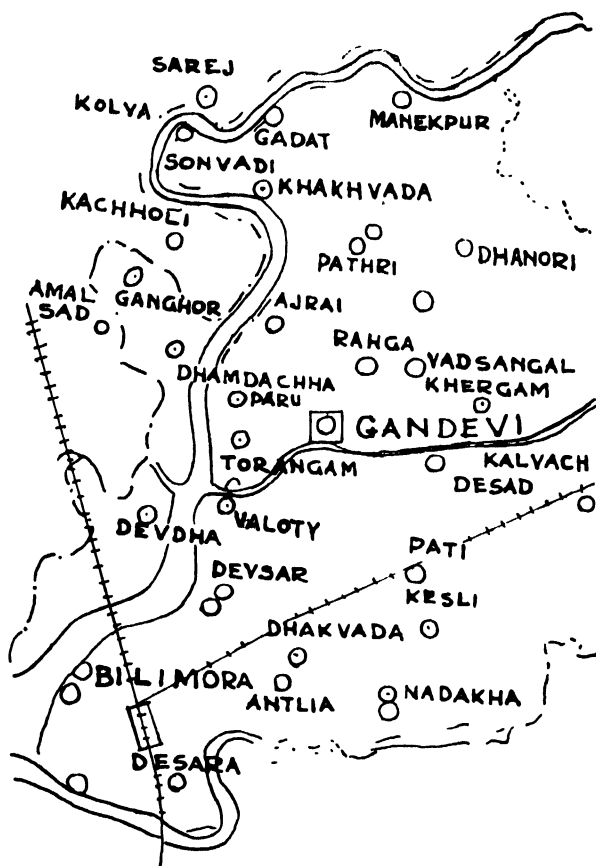
2 In second or different hand.

daries at the end in his own hand and did so. Such additions on legal documents, are likely to raise doubts about their being genuine. So, on a second thought in order to remove the likelihood of such doubts, he may have thought of preparing a second document, observing the proper formality of mentioning the boundaries of the village granted. While doing so, he, being a better lawyer or drawer of documents may have thought it opportune to attend to the wording of the document and may have changed it accordingly. The difference in the dates also, is explained by the above view. The first document is dated "Tuesday, the eleventh day of the bright half of Mārgasirsha in the Śaka year 996." The second or revised document is dated "the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārtika in the Vikrama year 1131. Thus we see, that the second revised and corrected document was made after the first. Thus, as a matter of fact, the second document was a proper and more correct and legal document. But the preservation of the first plate or document was necessary to complete, as it were, the history of the grant of the village.

I have said above, that more than one town, village or place, held the same name, and that is especially the case in India. So, in naming the town, or village or place, one must be very careful. An amusing instance of neglect to do so is presented in an article entitled "Moguls and Jesuits" in the January 1919, issue of the East and West of Bombay. There are two Srinagars, one in Kashmir and another in Garhwal. In 1624, a Jesuit father D'Andrada by name, went to Chaprand in Tibet *via* the second Srinagar *i.e.*, the one in Garhwal. After a stay of 20 years there, he left the place on account of a Revolution that arose there. Some time in the 18th century another father, Father Desidui who having read of Father D'Andrada's stay in Tibet, took the Srinagar mentioned by him to be the Srinagar of Kashmir and from there went to Lassha in Tibet. He found there a mission house of the Cappuchin Missionaries. It was vacant for the time being, the Cappuchin Missionaries having gone out

of the country for some time. He took that to be the mission house referred to by Father D'Andrada and stayed there. Some time after, the real owners, the Cappuchin Fathers returned and claimed their mission house from Father Desidui. He refused to vacate it saying that it was the mission house of our Jesuit D'Andrada. The dispute went to the Pope who decided the matter in favour of the Cappuchins.

NORTH



SOUTH

RUSTAM MANOCK (1635-1721 A. C.), THE BROKER OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (1699 A. C.), AND THE PERSIAN QISSEH (HISTORY) OF RUSTAM MANOCK. A STUDY.

Read before the B. B. R. A. Society, on Monday, the 27th August 1928.

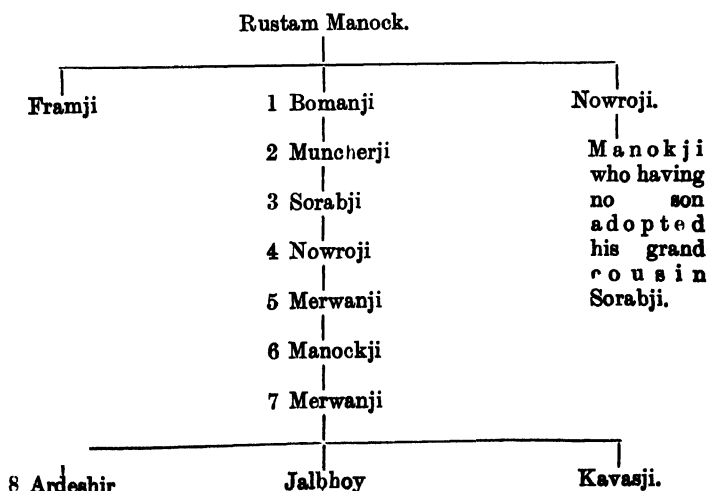
I.

Introduction.

THE subject of this paper has suggested itself to me on the inspection of five ¹ documents of the time of the United East India Company. These documents have been kindly lent to me for inspection and study by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth, the 8th heir in direct descent ² from Rustam Manock, who forms the subject of this paper. I beg to submit these documents here for inspection. They are dated from 1723 to 1725, and refer to the affairs between Rustam Manock, who died in 1721, and the East India Company.

¹ Two of the documents are, as will be seen later on, of the same tenor.

² The undermentioned tree gives Mr. Kavasji Seth's line of descent. It is prepared from a book entitled "સેઠ બાલદેવ સુરજીના વંશીવલ્લી ગણ સંપત્તિવાળી." (The Genealogy of the Seth Khandan family and its brief account) by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (1900 A.C.). The Hon'ble Sir Pheroze C. Sethna also is 8th in descent from Rustam Manock from the line of another son of Rustam's son Bomanji.



I took copies of the documents with the help of a magnifying glass, and then, later on, found, that three of the documents were published by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth about 28 years ago.³ But as few copies of this book were published and that only for private circulation, and as Mr. Jalbhoy has given them in the modern spelling, I give these documents at the end in this paper with their old spelling. Mr. Jalbhoy has not published one of the documents—the third—probably because it is very faint and difficult to be deciphered. It has got still fainter now. However, I have, with some difficulty, deciphered a large part of it. The portion deciphered seems to be sufficient to tell us what it is about.

The object of the paper is three-fold :—A. To examine *Object of the* and explain the documents. B. To give *Paper.* a brief account of the life of Rustam Manock, who was a broker, not only of the English East India Company and of the United East India Company but also of the Portuguese, and most probably also of the Dutch. C. To examine the Historical events, etc., referred to in a Persian poem, entitled “Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock.”

II.

(A) The Documents.

I will, at first, speak of the Documents. They are the following :—

1. A letter, dated “London, the 19th August 1723”, addressed to “Our President and Councill of Bombay” and signed by 17 members of the Court of Directors who speak of themselves, when signing, as “Your Loving Friends”. We have two copies of it. One, torn away a good deal, and the other, in good condition. The covers of both bear the following address : “To the Hon’ble the President and Councill for all the Forces and Affairs of the English Nation at Bombay” 19th August 1724. The reason why we have two copies is explained in the letter itself, which speaks of six copies being sent to prevent loss. The covering

³ શિક્ષક આનંદાનની વંશાવલી તથા કુટુંબ ઐતુહાસ, અન્યોક્ષિતકલ દ્વારા તથા અનિર્ણિત સ્થાને ઇસવી સને ૧૯૦૦.

address of both the copies bear seals, which say "Engl. E. Ind. Comp." (*i.e.*, English East India Company). Both the copies, which I produce for inspection, give the year as 1724. But the late Mr. Jalbhoy Seth gives, in his *Genealogy of the Seth Khandan family* (p. 12), the year as 1723. We do not know what year the other four copies gave. From the contents of the letter, I think the year 1723 is correct, because it does not at all speak of the award of 1724, and says that the Papers will be examined. So, it seems to have been sent before the award.

2. An award, dated 18th January 1724, made and signed by four arbitrators—Mathew Decker, Jos Wordsworth, E. Harrison and John Heathcote. They have ended the award as follows : "Wee the said Arbitrators have to this our award sett our hands and seals this Eighteenth day of January in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain and France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, or Anno Domini 1724". The signatories have added the words "I. S."^{3a} after their names. This award is attested by Hervey and George Lloyd,⁴ with the words "Scaled and Delivered (being first duly stampd) in the presence of".

3. The third document has got faint and is not wholly legible. It is a document from the office of the Lord Mayor. It says at the bottom : "If faith and testimony of writer and Lord Mayor

"Seal of

"put and approved

'on Fourth day of February of the Reign of our Sovereign and King of Great Britain.

1724."

This document refers to the above second document of 18th of January 1724 and seems to be a document relating to registration. It is marked in blue pencil as "Notarial Seal to the Award."

3a I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.) for the following information on the subject :

"I cannot at present find in any book with me as to what the letters I. S. after the signature in the old deed mean, but if they immediately precede the seal and follow the signature, I can conjecture that they may stand for "Ipsius Signum" — *i.e.*, "his own signature or seal", like our "તારકા યે"

⁴ The words "and George" are not quite clear. So, I have given them as in Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth's *Genealogy of the Seth Family*, p. 25.

4. The fourth document is indirectly concerned with the East India Company. It refers to Rustam Manock's sons who are referred to in the above two documents. It is a letter addressed to "Messrs. Framji Rustomjee and Bomanjee Rustomjee", two sons of Rustam Manock in India. It is dated "London 25th March 1725" and written by Cha Boonet, who was, before this time, at Surat in the English Factory.

I give below the substance of the above documents.

Substance of the 1st document—the Directors' Letter of 19th August 1723 to the President and Council of Bombay.

The substance of the letter of 17 Directors of the United East India Company, dated 19th August 1723, and addressed to the "President and Council of Bombay" is as follows:—

1. Received your packets and advices by ships King George, Stanhope and Salisbury.
2. We have learnt your desire that (a) the late brokers (Rustam Manock and Sons) should "give us satisfaction as to all just demands upon them", (b) that you want to give proofs about the affairs "from their (*i.e.*, the Brokers) own books and accounts" and (c) that "matters of difference that may arise" may be determined by arbitration of members chosen by both sides.
3. We learn that Framji (Rustam Manock's son) "is in custody at the Surat Durbar and Bomanjee remains confined in his house at Bombay."
4. Ship Salisbury, which arrived at Spithead the latter end of April last, brought Nowrojee from Surat and he "hath laid before us several papers and accounts which are ordered to be perused and taken into consideration."
5. Some of the papers given by him refer to "the case of Framjee in close prison" at Suart "on the application of the English Chiefs, Mr. Hope and afterwards Messrs. Cowans and Courtenay" to Momeen Cann the Surat Governor; and, on a letter by Governor Phipps, (a) Framji was first confined, (b) "then guards" were "set on his father Rustomjee's house"; (c) Framjee was forced to pay to the above Surat Governor or Nawab Rs. 50,000 and also Rs. 200 a day "for leave to supply the people

in the house with provisions and water.” (d) Framjee has also been submitted to corporal punishment.

6. “However the case be” the Directors direct and order that Bomanjee at Bombay may be set at liberty and that application be made to the (Mogul) Governor of Surat to set free Framjee and to take off the guards from their father’s house. The Directors added: “our desire being to end all differences amicably, for we would not have him oppressed.”
7. Six letters “all of the same tenor” are given to Nowrojee, as “he intends to send them overland if any should miscarry, the rest may come safe and earlier than by shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till proper season.”

The Directors, as said in their letter dated 19th August 1723

Substance of the 2nd document,—the Award of the Arbitrators. to their President and Council at Bombay, tried to settle the differences amicably, and the case was referred to four arbitrators, two from both sides—the United East India Company and the heirs of Rustam Manock. The following were the arbitrators: 1. (Sir) Mathew Decker, 2. Josias Wordsworth, 3. Edward Harrison and John Heathcote. They declared their award duly signed by all of them on 18th January 1724. The following is the substance of the award:—

- (1) An Indenture dated 18th November (1723) was made between the United East India Company and Nowrojee Rustomjee, then residing in London. The Indenture recited that:—
 - (a) “Several accounts, claims and demands had been depending and several disputes and controversies had arisen” between the United East India Company and Nowrojee, Framjee and Bamanjee “in their or one of their own proper right as in the rights of Rustomjee Manockjee father” of the above three sons.
 - (b) The two parties desired to bring an amicable settlement and therefore “had indifferently elected and chosen four persons to be arbitrators.”

- (c) Both the parties agreed to “ well and truly stand to, abide, observe, perform, fulfill and keep (*i.e.*, accept) the award.”
- (2) The award was made “ at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, on or before the Eighteenth day of this instant January.”
- (3) It was agreed by the parties that the award “ should be made a Rule of His Majesty’s Court of King’s Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining differences by Arbitration.
- (4) The Arbitrators having “ fully heard and examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Parties and maturely weighed and considered the same and the matter in difference between them,” declared their award as follows :—
 - (a) On the 18th of November 1723, there was due from the United East India Company to the three brothers, sons of Rustomjee Manockjee, sums of money as follows :—
 - (1) Rs. 91,367 and pies 29½, by “ virtue of one Bond Deed or Interest Bill, dated 15th May 1716.”
 - (2) Rs. 51,840 by virtue of another Bond and Bill dated 4th October 1716.
 - (3) There were other sums due to the brothers upon other “ several accounts depending between them and the United Company.”

The total due to the brothers, including the above named two sums, came to Rs. 5,46,390.

- (b) This sum of Rs. 5,46,390 to be paid as follows :—
 - (1) £1,925 “ sterling money being the amount or value in England of Rs. 170,000 ” to be paid on or before the 1st February now next ensuing (*i.e.*, on 1st February 1724). On that payment being made Nowrojee was to return to the United Company the above bond of 15th May 1716.

(2) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid in Bombay on or before 1st February 1725 A.D., the brothers to pass a receipt for the sum.

(3) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid at Bombay on or before the 1st February 1726.

On the receipt of the last instalment the brothers were to pass "a General Release." They were also to pass a Bond of sufficient penalty to indemnify the Company against all claims and demands.

Substance of the 3rd Document. Sir Edward Mathew Decker, Knight, Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London. It is very faint and not very legible.

Substance of the 4th Document. Sometime after the declaration of the award, Charles Boonet, who was at one time a leading member of the English Factory at Surat, and who, knowing the late broker Rustam Manock well, seems to have taken an interest in the case of his sons, wrote a letter dated 25th March 1725, to the brothers who were in Bombay. The substance of the letter is as follows :—

- (1) I have received several letters from you and have sent replies to some at the hands of Capt. Hide and Mr. Thomas Waters.
- (2) You did wrong in sending Nowrojee to England without a letter of Attorney "under your hands after the English Manner."
- (3) You ought to have sent with him "the original Bonds which were the most material things wanting."
- (4) I have done my best to help and advise Nowrojee. Do not tell to anybody "what methods have been taken in England relating to this business." If that was done it will "greatly prejudice the affairs."
- (5) I have settled the dispute between Nowrojee and Capt. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man-of-War (the ship by which Nowrojee went to England).
- (6) I have received from Nowrojee what was due to me. In case my Agent Mr. Thomas Waters has received that, ere this, from you, this will be returned to you.

- (7) You brothers must live peacefully. There is a chance of your being appointed brokers again. But if you will fight among yourselves, you will spoil your cause.
- (8) Nowrojee has worked very hard here and had fallen ill. You therefore give him a good present for his services. "Everybody here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble Company and for the good and interest of his Brothers and family."
- (9) Mr. Boonet objects to the brothers deducting, as stated in their letter of 10th September 1722, Rs. 26,458 and 33 pice, given to Mr. Hope as Vice-Consul for Commission at 5 per cent. and asks that sum to be recovered from Mr. Hope with interest, as the arrangement with him was that he was to get commission on what he should collect himself, in which case he had to stand as security. Fortunately "your affairs have taken a favourable turn"; otherwise "my consulage must have been lost by Mr. Hope's neglecting my orders."
- (10) The Company gave "prequisites" to its servants. "The Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception and the excusing the servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary act and designed only as an encouragement to young beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in stocks, otherwise the name of a Company's servant might cover many cargoes as Mr. Hope has done."
- (11) "Recommends his new attorney Mr. Thomas Waters."
- (12) Your brother has settled through me "his affair with Commodore Mathews." I have been useful to you. You likewise be useful to me.

The story of the documents, in brief, is this: Rustam Manock, an influential Parsee of Surat, who had, on account of his influence and generosity, received the surname of Seth, was appointed the broker, at Surat, of the English East India Company and then of the United East India Company. He was dismissed after some years by the Governor

*The Story of
the Documents in
brief.*

of Bombay against the wishes of the President and Council of Surat who wished him to be re-instated. The Companies owed him a large amount which remained unpaid upto the time of his death in 1721. He had left three sons, who had disputes with the English factors at Surat on their father's death, about the above debt. So, one of them, Framjee, the eldest, was detained in custody at his own house at Bombay and the second, Bomanjee, was confined in his own house at Surat by the Nabob or the Mogul Governor of Surat at the instance of the English factors. So, Nowrojee,⁵ the third and youngest son, went to London to place his and his brothers' case before the Directors of the United Company. The Company sent orders here to release the two brothers and they and Nowrojee agreed to refer the matter of dispute to arbitration. The award of the four arbitrators was unanimously in favour of the brothers.

III.

Early English Trade and the East India Companies.

I will give here, at first, a brief account of the three East India Companies, with two of which—the English East India Company and the United East India Company—Rustam Manock had come into direct contact as their broker.

India traded with the West by land-route from very ancient times. Then, the Crusades (1095 to 1291) brought Western Europe in greater contact with the East. The Italian States of Venice and Genoa had, at first, a successful trade with the East, *via* the ports of Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. After 1500, during which year, the Portuguese admiral Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, Portuguese fleets began trading with India. The Portuguese broke the monopoly of Genoa and Venice and successfully monopolized the trade with India till 1580, when Spain and Portugal were united together under Philip II, a bigoted Roman Catholic monarch, who sought uniformity of religion and tried to force

⁵ Nowroji was the first Parsee to go to England; the second was Maniär who went in 1781.

his Roman Catholicism, here and there. His Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where the seeds of the Reformation were already sown, disliked his bigotry and revolted. The Dutch used to obtain Indian products from Portugal which, as said above, had a kind of monopoly in Indian trade. Philip, as a punishment for their revolt, stopped their intercourse with Lisbon. This stoppage deprived them from having Indian commodities. This state of affairs forced them to trade independently with the East. Their first four trade-ships, at first, went and traded with Java in 1595. In 1640, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke and its new King John IV (Duke of Braganza), on coming to throne, tried to stand against the Dutch in their capture of Indian trade. But, by this time, the Dutch had established themselves strongly in the East.

The commercial successes of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Eastern trade had opened the eyes of some English merchants of London. Later on, they drew the attention of the French.⁶ Robert Orme gives us a succinct and interesting account of the "Establishment of the English trade at Surat"⁷. The very first Englishman to land in India, though not for trade purposes, was Father Thomas Stevens or Stephens who landed at Goa in 1578⁸ in the company of a few Jesuits. He died in 1619. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to a small company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company. In 1583, the Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leedes and others by the overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Hormaz with a letter from

⁶ Voltaire, in his "Siècle de Louis XIV" criticises the tardiness of the French in scientific matters and in geographical discoveries and enterprizes. He says: "Les Français n'eurent part ni aux grandes découvertes ni aux inventions admirable des autre nations. . . . Ils faisaient des tournois, pendant que les Portugais et les Espagnols découvraient and conquéraient de nouveaux mondes a l'orient et á l'occident du monde connu." (Edition of 1878 of "Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire" p 158 p. 4 Chap. I Introduction), i.e. "The French took no part, either in the great discoveries or in the admirable inventions of other nations. . . . They performed the tournaments when the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered and conquered the new worlds in the east and in the west of the known world." Robert Grant in his "Sketch of the History of the East India Company" (1813) p. XXXVI draws our attention to this criticism of Voltaire.

⁷ Robert Orme's "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" (1805), p. 319 *et seq.* ⁸ V. Smith gives the year as 1579 (Smith's Akbar, p. 296).

the Queen to Akbar⁹. They arrived at Akbar's court in 1585. Then came, in 1603, ¹⁰ Mildenhall, at the head of a commercial mission, *via* Aleppo and Persia. He announced himself as a messenger from Queen Elizabeth and got permission to trade. All of these commercial adventurers came in foreign vessels.

The first English vessel that came here was Hector with Capt. William Hawkins as Commander. It arrived at Suwalli (modern Sumari) in August 1608^{10a}. A ship, named Ascension, had left England one month before it, but it was delayed in the voyage, and, when it came in Indian waters, was wrecked at Gandevi about 30 miles south of Surat. Hawkins had a letter from King James. He arrived in Jahangir's Court at Agra in April 1609 and remained there till November 1611. Though well received at first, he was refused permission for a factory at Surat. In 1611, the English established a factory at Maslipatam. The Portuguese were powerful here at the time.

The Company had resolved to arrange for an embassy. Sir Thomas Roe carried the first embassy from James I. He left England in March 1615, and arrived at Surat in September 1615. He was in India for 3 years and 5 months and left in 1619. Among the presents that he brought was an English coach ¹¹. Sir Thomas is said to have suggested, that wine would be a better present for the Moghal King and his Prince. He wrote: "Never were men more enamoured of that drinke as these two: they would more highly esteem them than all the jewels in Chepeside ¹²" Jahangir gave the necessary permission "to settle factories in any parts of the Mogul empire, specifying Bengal, Sundry, and Surat. ¹³"

⁹ *Vide* Smith's Akbar (1917), p. 227 *et seq.* ¹⁰ *Vide* Smith's Akbar, pp. 292-94. ^{10a} Hawkins' Voyages by C R. Markham (1878) p. 388 *seq.*

¹¹ Jahangir, in his Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge Vol. I, p. 340), speaks of driving in a Frank (firangi) carriage driven by four horses when he left Ajmer for the Deccan. That was on 10th November 1616. So, it seems that, that was the coach sent as a present by James I.

¹² Peter Auber's "Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company" (1826), p. 718. ¹³ *Ibid.*

The first English factory at Surat was founded in September 1612. Robert Orme¹⁴ gives us an interesting account of its formation under Capt. Best who came to Surat with two ships of the Company. The Portuguese did all they could to prevent the establishment of the Factory but they failed. The Surat merchants liked very much that the English may establish their factory there. One of them enthusiastically said: "Surat must burn all its ships, if friendship were not maintained with the English."¹⁵ On the favourable representations of the merchants "Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th (September 1612) and gave pledges, on which Capt. Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty."¹⁶ Orme adds: "The scope of these articles (of treaty) provided sufficiently for security of a *first* establishment. They were signed on the 21st of October (1622), when Captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the Company. . ."¹⁷ From this time forward the English trade regularly advanced here. Best went home, and, on his giving a glaring report of the Indian trade, the Directors of the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send an ambassador to the Mogal Court to counteract the influence of the Jesuit priests on behalf of Portugal. Jahangir did not like the Portuguese. So, a victory won by the English over the Portuguese on 29th January 1615¹⁸, at Swally, greatly pleased him, and he, in his Memoirs, especially mentions that victory—the victory over the *Warza* (Portuguese Viceroy)—as one of the three good news that had reached him in the month Bahman.¹⁹ It appears from Orme that, in 1678, the Company's broker at Surat was a Bania.²⁰

The English had some trade at Surat from the early part of the 17th century. It was in 1666, that the Madras establishment came to be equal to that of Surat where they paid a consolidated

*English Trade
at Surat.*

¹⁴ Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogal Empire (1805), p. 327 *et seq.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 328. ¹⁶ *Ibid.* For the terms of the Treaty *vide Ibid.*, pp. 328-9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329. ¹⁸ Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 351. Danvers' Portuguese in India (1894) II, 170—71.

¹⁹ Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I., p. 274.

²⁰ Orme's Historical Fragments (1805). n. 72.

duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on their goods. "In addition to this import duty, a poll tax called *jaziya* was imposed on non-Muslims from 2nd April 1679." The Christians protested but "though they are *ahl-i-kitāb* or believers in the Old Testament like the Muhammadans²¹", their protest was of no avail. But "the Moghal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jaziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered a compromise by turning the *jaziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter (from $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c.) to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. "²². Aurangzeb's farman of 26th June 1667, directed that "the English trader there (at Surat) should pay only 2 p.c. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported by them to that harbour."²³ This concession was granted on the recommendation of Ghiyas-ud-din Khan, the Governor of Surat, to the Wazir Jafar Khan. This was perhaps because the English had made a bold stand, as we will see later on, against Shivaji during his first sack of Surat in 1664. In 1679, the above reduced $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. was re-imposed and in addition 1 p.c. was added, as said above, for *jaziya* ; in all they had to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. for import duties *ad valorem*.

By this time, the English had exasperated Aurangzeb. They had sacked Hugli in 1686 and seized it in 1687. Then, the Bombay fleet, as directed by Sir John Child, attacked Aurangzeb's fleet. So, he ordered everywhere their arrest, the seizure of their factories and prohibition of all trade with them. But the English being strong at sea, harassed Aurangzeb's pilgrim ships to Mecca and also other trade-ships. The stoppage of trade led to a diminution in Mogul revenue. At last, in February 1690, peace was made. The English gave Aurangzeb Rs. 1,50,000. Notwithstanding this peace, the English at Surat were harassed by the Mogul officers. So, the home authorities, wanted to make Bombay, which had come into their hands, "the Key of India" and Sir John Child, the then President, "left Surat for Bombay on 25th April 1687, in order to be beyond the reach of the Moghals. The imperial governor of Surat disliked this retreat

²¹ Sarkar's History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, *vide* p. 317 et seq.

²² *Ibid*, p. 319. ²³ *Ibid*, p. 320.

of the English to an independent position.”²⁴ A state of war ensued. Benjamin Harris and his assistant Samuel Annesley were confined in their house. There was fighting between the English and the Moghals on the Western Coast in 1688-89. Sir John Child, the President, with an English fleet captured a large number of Moghal ships. The above English officers were put in chains and kept prisoners for 16 months (December 1688 to April 1690).

At this time, the Siddee of Janjira, the Admiral of Aurangzeb on the Western coast, attacked Bombay at Aurangzeb's direction, in May 1689. Governor Child did not defend it well. So, it fell an easy prey in the hands of the Siddee, and the English had to shut themselves up in the Fort. Child sent G. Welden and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzeb on a mission for peace (10th December 1689). Aurangzeb granted a pardon on 25th December 1689. The *farman* of pardon and peace was ceremoniously received at Surat on 4th April 1690. The English officers were released and they paid Rs. 1,50,000 as fine. The English had suffered a good deal in prestige and their affairs for 1691-1692 and 1693 were bad. Early in 1694, Sir John Gayer came to India as the chief agent in Western India and Governor of Bombay. In May 1694, Annesley became the chief of the Surat factory. During the next six years, the European pirates were powerful in the Indian seas and injured the power of the English for trade on the Western coast. In 1695, Aurangzeb's own ship was plundered by an English pirate, Bridgmen *alias* Avery. The English were held responsible for this piracy and President Annesley and his assistants had to be confined. Aurangzeb, at first, thought of punishing strongly all the European factories—the Dutch, the French and the English, but, on second thought, he arranged with them for the further protection of the trade. On 6th January 1696, the English President Annesley undertook to supply an escort for his ships and he was set at liberty.

In 1697, an English pirate Kidd again brought the English into difficulties. Aurangzeb imposed a fine of Rs. 14 lakhs upon the factories of the three nations. In the end, these three nations divided their work and undertook to protect the Indian trade on the different parts of the Indian coast. About this time, on

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 336-337.

6th April 1699, the new Company, the English East India Company, was formed and Sir Nicholas Waite came to Surat, as its first President, and Sir William Norris came to India as an ambassador from the English King. In February 1701, Sir John Gayer was arrested and imprisoned by the Mogal Governor of Surat at the instigation of Sir Nicholas Waite, who, in order to undermine the influence and work of the old East India Company, whose representative Sir John Gayer was, misrepresented matters, and said, that the piracy in the Indian seas was the work of Sir John Gayer and his old Company. Sir John Gayer being made prisoner, Sir Nicholas Waite was appointed Governor of Bombay by the Home authorities. Sir John Gayer continued long in prison.

I will finish this account of the early English trade at Surat, with a brief account of the different East India Companies, formed, one after another. This account will enable us to be in a better position to determine the time of Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of two of them. (a) In 1589, some merchants submitted a memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a license of 3 ships to trade with India. The license was given in 1591 and Capt. Raymond started with three ships. This trade-expedition was followed in 1596 by another expedition. The merchant adventurers then thought of forming a regular association for trade. Queen Elizabeth, on being applied to granted, on 31st December 1600, a charter for the purpose. This association formed the London Company which was "the first establishment of an English East-India Company."²⁵ The Company was "to be managed by a governor and twenty-four Committees".²⁶ Licenses were also "issued to individuals for private trade."²⁷ "The Company formed, by degrees, factories in India, and ultimately reached such a degree of prosperity, that various attempts were made to induce the Crown and Parliament to revoke their charter, with no other object than that the petitioners themselves

²⁵ An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, by Peter Auber (1826), p. 718.

²⁶ The members were then designated as Committees (Peter Auber's East India Company (1824), p. 195). The Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company by Peter Auber, 1826, p. ix.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. x.

should be elected into an exclusive Company." But this attempt failed. In 1693, the Company failed to pay "a duty of five per cent. on their capital stock" imposed upon them in the time of William and Mary. So, their charter was revoked. A new charter was given with the condition that "it should be determinable on three years' notice."²⁸

(b) In 1698, Great Britain, having had wars with foreign powers, was obliged to borrow money. This led to the formation of another Company called "English East India Company," chiefly formed of those who helped the Government by subscribing money for the loan for the war. The Act, permitting the formation of this new Company, provided, that the Government had the right of closing both the Companies—the new and the old—in 1711. It is said, that the Tories favoured the Old Company and the Whigs, the New Company.²⁹ As was the custom in those early times in case of private bills, that the parties must, with the permission of the Parliament, wait upon His Majesty to pray for his approval, the Governor and Committees waited upon the King at Kensington on 8th March 1699. The King sanctioned the formation of the Company, but "recommended an union of the two companies to their serious consideration, as it was his opinion that it would be most for the interest of the Indian trade."³⁰

(c) The King's advice began taking shape in July 1702 and, "after much preliminary discussion, an Indenture Tripartite (called the Charter of Union) was passed under the great seal."³¹ The movement took shape in 1708 and both the companies were amalgamated under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies," its brief name being, "The United East India Company." The United Company had 24 managers, known as directors, twelve to be selected from each Company. The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709 and the first 24 Directors were elected on 15th April 1709.

This United Company lent to Government without interest £1,200,000, in lieu of the right of exclusive trade for 15 years. In

²⁸ *Ib d.*

²⁹ Robert Grant's Sketch of the History of the East India Company, 1813, p xxxvi. ³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 196. ³¹ *Ibid*, p. 197.

1722, the period of the exclusive right was extended upto 1733. In 1730, this right was further extended upto 1766, for which extended exclusive right, they gave to Government £200,000 and consented to charge a reduced rate of interest, viz., 4 per cent. on the present and the past debts amounting to £3,200,000. The rate for the past debt was 8 per cent.³² In 1744, the period of the exclusive right was again extended by 14 years, i.e., upto (1766+14=) 1780, and they lent to Government a further sum of £1,000,000 at 3 per cent. In 1750, the United Company agreed to a reduction from 4 to 3 per cent. of the former loan of £3,200,000. The total sum, known as the East India annuities, amounted to £4,200,000, and the annual amount of interest at 3 per cent., which the Company received, came to £126,000. In 1781, the exclusive right of trading was continued upto 1794. In 1793, the exclusive right of trade with China and in Tea was continued to the Company till 1813, but the exclusive right for trade with India was cancelled and the right was opened to the public.

*A Few Dates
about the Advent
of Europeans,
and among them,
of the English to
India.*

I give below a *list* of the principal events in connection with the advent of the English in India.

The Crusades which brought Europe into some close contact with the East	1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India <i>via</i> Cape of Good Hope	1500
The first Englishman (Father Thomas Stevens) to land in India, though not as a merchant, but to work with the Jesuits at Goa	1578
The Portuguese had a monopoly of trade with India upto	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the Levante or the Turkey Company	1581
The advent, <i>via</i> overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Ormaz, of the first band of English merchants—Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others—as merchants of the	

³² *Ibid*, p. 17.

Turkey Company, with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Emperor Akbar	1583
A few English Merchants submitted a Memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a License for 3 ships to trade with India	1589
The License was granted and Captain Raymond started with 3 ships. This was the first trade Expedition.	1591
The Dutch began trading with the East	1595
Another (second) English Trade Expedition	1596
Few English Merchant-adventurers applied to Elizabeth for a Charter to form a Trade Association. This led to the foundation of the <i>first</i> establishment under the name of the <i>London</i> East India Company .. 31st Dec.	1600
Arrival of Middenhall, who came by land route, as an authorised messenger from Queen Elizabeth, and who was given permission to trade	1603
The arrival of the very first English vessel, Hector, under Commander Hawkins at Suwalli (Sumari) near Surat	1608
The arrival at Jahangir's Court of Hawkins, who came with King James' letter	1609
Hawkin's stay at Jahangir's Court. He was refused permission for a factory at Surat	1611
The English first established a Factory at Masalipatam.	1611
The English settled at Surat for the first time after the naval defeat, at the hands of Captain Best, of the Portuguese, who had become very powerful at the Mogal Court. This was the foundation of the first English <i>kothi</i> or Factory at Surat. The <i>firman</i> of trade was given by Jahangir to Edwards	1612
Two English Factors went with King James' letter to Jahangir, but were not successful	1613-1614
On good reports from Captain Best about the trade with India, the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassador. He landed at Surat September	1615

An unsuccessful attempt of the Dutch to found a Factory at Surat	1616
The first Dutch Factory founded at Surat by Peter van den Bracke, who became its first President ³³ ..	1620
The first Dutch Factory founded at Agra with Francisco Palsaert at its head	1621
Marriage Treaty of Charles II and Catherine.. 23rd June	1661
The English took possession of Bombay from the hands of the Portuguese	1665
The Company's Broker at Surat was a Bania ³⁴	1678
The first London East India Company, having failed to pay "a duty of 5 per cent. on their capital stock, its Charter was revoked in the time of William and Mary." A new Charter was given, on condition, that it may be revoked in 3 months' notice	1693
The formation of the 2nd Company, the English East India Company, the Government reserving the right of closing both the Companies in 1711	1698
The founders of the New Company waited, according to custom, upon the King, when the King advised that both the Companies may be united	1699
The arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New Company at Surat	1699
The movement to unite the two Companies according to the King's advice, began	1702
The movement finally took shape and both the Companies were united under the name of "The United East India Company"	1708
The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709, and the first 24 Directors elected on 15th April 1709. The right of Exclusive trade was given for 15 years upto 1724	1709

³³ "The Empire of the Great Mogal" (De Imperio Magni Mogolia), by De Laet, translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Bannerjee (1928), Introduction, p. IV. This work is spoken of as "a complete Gazetteer of Jahangir's India," (*Ibid*, p. vi.)

³⁴ Orme's *Historical Fragments* (1805), p. 72.

The Period of Exclusive trade extended upto 1733	..	1722
This Period of Exclusive trade again extended upto 1766	.. .. .	1730
This Period of Exclusive trade again increased by 14 years, i.e., upto (1766+14=) 1780	.. .. .	1744
The United Company had lent money to British Government. The interest over these Loans, which amounted to £3,200,000, was reduced from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. The total sum known as "The East India Annuities" amounted to £4,200,000	.. .. .	1750
The Period of Exclusive trade for the East India Company was further increased upto 1794	..	1781
The right of Exclusive trade with India was cancelled (though that with China and that of the tea trade was continued upto 1813)	.. .. .	1793

IV.

The Persian Poem, Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock, i.e., The Life Story or History of Rustam Manock.

Now we come to the second object of our paper, viz., to give an account of the life of Rustam Manock.

For the account of the life of Rustam Manock, we have, besides some stray materials found here and there, a *The Quisseh*. Persian poem, entitled Quisseh-i-Rustam Manock (قصه رستم مانک) i.e., the History or Life-story of

Rustam Manock, written by Mobed Jamshed Kaikobad. It speaks of several historical events relating to Emperor Aurangzeb, Shivaji and the English and Portuguese factories; so, it is a contemporary historical document, which, though not of unusually great historical value, is important as a document presenting a Parsee view of the events. I will give, the Qisseh in Persian. I will give, later on, a full summary of its contents and will then examine, how far its account of the historical events is supported by historical works. I will first speak here of the Author and the Date of the Qisseh.

The author of the Qisseh is Jamshed Kaikobad. Unfortunately, Dastur Minochehr, the editor of the poem, of whom I will speak a little later on, while preparing a correct text of it, seems to have done away with its original colophon or concluding lines, wherein the author must have given, in his own words, his name, residence, date, etc. However, it is well, that Minochehr has given, in his own words, the author's name, place and date. From this, we learn that the author of the Qisseh lived at Surat, and that he wrote this Qisseh in 1080 Yazdazardi (Samanin alif. c. 590)³⁵ i.e., 1711 A.C. Jamshed Kaikobad, was, as he himself says in the Qisseh³⁶, the tutor of Nowrozji, Rustam Manock's third son, who, as we will see later on, was the first Parsee to go to London in 1723 and whose name is often referred to in the above-mentioned East India Company's documents. We see, from the date given above, that Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his account of the life of Rustam Manock, 10 years before the death of Rustam who died in 1721 A.C.

No original manuscript in the hand of the author has come down to us. There may be, somewhere, a copy or copies of the author's own original, but I have not come across any. Several copies existed in 1845. The story of the text, as I give it, is as follows: In 1214 A.Y., i.e., 1845 A.C., Manockji Merwanji Seth, the sixth in descent from Rustam Manock, saw and possessed several copies of the original Qisseh as written by the author Jamshed Kaikobad. He requested Ervad (afterwards Dastur) Minochehr Edalji Jamaspasa,³⁷ to prepare a correct text out of the several copies then existing. Minochehr did so. In the text prepared by him, Minochehr says, that there were several copies of the Qisseh but they were found incorrect from the point

³⁵ C. in this paper means couplet. ال ثمانین الف یزد جرد

نموده بدش ختم آن را و مرد

³⁶ c. 306. از آن است نوروز هاوشت می
i.e., of those (three sons) Nowroz is my pupil.

³⁷ Born 1808. Came to Dasturship on 22nd February 1861 on the death of his father. Died within 8 months on 20th October 1861.

of view of the meter (bi-*raideh*, c. 59); that that was due to ignorant copyists (نواقفان نقل سازندگان c. 592); that therefore, Manockji Merwanji, the Seth of the time, the head of the *anjuman* (community) of Mobads, showed these copies to several learned men who all declared them to be faulty (c. 593); that he then entrusted the work to him (Minochehr, the son of Dastur Edalji, surnamed Jamaspasana); that Manockji Seth said to him, "You prepare another Qisseh according to the old one;" and that therefore this Qisseh is one based upon the old one. Minochehr gives the year of his own work as the year *ghariji*⁸⁸ (غاريجي), i.e., 1214 Yazdazardi (c. 610), i.e., 1845 A.C.

The revised and corrected text so prepared by Minochehr, long remained unpublished. Then, the late Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, who was the eighth in descent from Rustam Manock and was the elder brother of the above Kavasji Seth, published it in 1900, in a book which was printed for private circulation and which was entitled, શેઠ ખાનદાનની વંશાવલી તથા દુક એહવાલ જનીએદોજકલ દ્વી તથા ચીત્રો સાથે (i.e., the descending line of the Seth family and a brief account with a genealogical tree and photographs). In very few copies of this publication, he has published a lithographed text, in 36 pages, of the Qisseh, as prepared by Minochehr. I am told that only three copies of the text were published. The text, which I give at the end of my paper, is a copy prepared from that publication, with my collation here and there from other copies.

The Text, as prepared by Minochehr, has been transliterated and translated into Gujarati. The transliterator and translator does not give his name, but, it appears from what is stated at the end of the lithographed copy published by Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, that the transliteration and translation were also the work of the above mentioned Minochehr. I produce for inspection a well-written copy of it, kindly presented to me some years ago, by a member of the Jassawala family, bearing, in the beginning and at the end, a stamped inscription saying "Presented by the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetjee Jassawala's family 1905." This copy bears the title આએ

⁸⁸ Gharij means wine. Ghariji is a cup-bearer. (Steingass) This chronogram comes to 1214, according to the *abjad* method:

$$\text{غ} = 1000 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{ر} = 200 + \text{ج} = 3 + \text{ي} = 10 = 1214$$

કીરસો શેઠ રસ્તમ માણેકનો મનોચહેરજી દસ્તુર એદલજીનો બનાવેલો, i.e., this Qisseh of Seth Rustam Manock prepared by Manochehrji Dastur Edalji. From this Gujarati transliterated copy, a Persian text has been reproduced by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana. The original of it exists in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library. I am thankful to the authorities of the library for lending it to me to take a copy³⁹. Dastur Erachji says in his Ms., that he has rendered the text into Persian from a Manuscript of the text written in Gujarati characters, belonging to Seth Kaikhosru Rustamji⁴⁰. He says :

د از قصه که این نقل کردم آن اصل قصه در گجراتی با
معنی نوشته نزد سیت کینخسرو رستم جی بود از آن روی در فارسی
نقل کردم۔

At the end of the lithographed copy, as given in the book published by Mr. Jalbhoy Merwanji Seth, there is a statement, that the text and its version (ma'ani), as prepared at the desire of Seth Manockji Merwanji, were examined and approved by Munshi Dosabhoy Sohrabji. This statement is followed by a certificate in Gujarati, dated 17th November 1845, and signed by Dosabhoy Sohrabji Munshi, saying that the verses and Gujarati translation are correct.

As to the Qisseh itself, as it has come down to us, and as published in the lithographed text in the above mentioned book of Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, it contains in all, 610 couplets. The first 51 couplets are something like a Preface or Introduction, not wholly from the pen of Minochehr. Similarly, the last 23 couplets in the postscript are also from the pen of Dastur Minochehr. He announces the name of the author as Jamshed (c. 45). He says to himself: "Make new (i.e., bring into public notice afresh) what is said by Jamshed. Adorn the old bride with ornaments."

³⁹ I am thankful to Mr. Furdunji Manockji Pavri, B.A., for kindly making a copy of it for me some years ago.

⁴⁰ On my inquiring from Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth, I am kindly informed that this gentleman traced his descent from Rustam Manock as follows : Rustam Manock—Bomanji—Khurshedji—Merwanji—Rustamji—Kaikhosru.

V.

Summary of the Qisseh.

I propose examining the several historical events mentioned in the *Qisseh* in the order in which they are narrated in the *Qisseh*. So, I will first give here a brief summary of the *Qisseh*, in which the marginal headings refer to the different headings as given in the *Qisseh*. For guiding the reader, I occasionally give reference to the *Qisseh* by giving its couplet, abbreviated as 'C'.

The *Qisseh* begins without any special heading. The first 51 couplets form an Introduction. Of these, *Introduction.* the first 29 couplets are in praise and prayer of God. They seem to be the composition of the author Jamshed or an adaptation from his verses. In those times, all such writings began with praise of God; so, Jamshed's poem cannot be an exception. These 29 couplets say, that God is the maker of nine celestial orbs (huqqa, c. 5), one under another (tutuq)⁴¹, which are bedecked with stars, some of which are moving⁴². The terrestrial globe (muhra-i-khāk) was suspended (mu'allaq) over waters and the creation was made out of the four elements⁴³. From the 30th to the 44th couplet, Dastur Minochehr, the revisor, asks for God's blessings upon his work, upon the soul of the author Jamshed Kaikobad who composed the poem (c. 32) and then upon himself. Then he asks himself (c. 45) to look sharp in his work. The story proper of the *Qisseh* begins from couplet 52.

Rustam was the son of Manock. He was descended from Mobads (c. 54) and was an inhabitant of Surat. *Praise and* He was a luminary (saraj) among Zoroastrians. *Charity of* He was benevolent and charitable like Hātim *Rustam.* (c. 56). Every year, he supplied to the poor food and clothing (c. 68). He also supported the religion of God (din-i-Khudā, i.e., Zoroastrianism, c. 72). His face was brilliant like that of Jamshed. In dignity, he was like Kaikhosru (c. 74.) He was virtuous like Faridun and illustrious like Tahmuras (c. 75). In courage he was like Rustam, the son of Zāl, the ruler of Kabul

⁴¹ Tutuq, curtain, coats of an onion; sky.

⁴² "Harraakat azān chandā bar guzasht".

⁴³ آخشيجان "the (four) opposites, i.e., the elements" (Steingass).

and Zabul (cc. 76-78). What Rustam was to Iran in those times, he (Rustam Manok) was to all at this time (c. 79). He was the leader of Mobads and Behdins (*i.e.*, priests and laymen, c. 81). Through him, our (Parsee) people commanded respect among other communities. There were kings from the time of Kayômars upto Yazdjard, but they all are dead ; but no, they are living through him (c. 85). He, one of their descendants, has pleased them in heaven by his good deeds (c. 86). He is like a king (Shah) in the country of India (c. 87). The author then prays for and blesses Rustam Manock (cc. 87-108). One of his blessings is that God may grant, that he may live as long, as the Sun, Moon and Stars shine in the sky (c. 91).⁴⁴ Then he prays that all his descendants (*za farz-and-i-farzand*) may always be joyful. From couplet 108 begins the narration of the events of Rustam Manock's life.

The first event described is the tax of Aurangzeb's
(1) *Relieving Parsees from the burden of the Jaziya.* Jaziyeh. It is described under the following head:⁴⁵

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکہ در زمان شاه اورنگ
زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود و از آن جزیه پارسیانرا
مذکور سیت رہانید

i.e. This, in the description of Seth Rustam Manock, that in the time of King Aurangzeb, there was the tax of jaziyeh (capitation tax) imposed upon Parsees. The above Seth got the Parsees relieved from that capitation tax.

Here again, in the commencement of this narration of the jaziyeh tax, Minochehr has added a line of his own, stating that he said what followed from what was said by Jamshed (ز جم). The Qisseh thus speaks of the Jaziyeh : In the reign of Sultan Aurangzeb, there was the fearful (*bâ nahîb*⁴⁶) tax

⁴⁴ The maximum age prayed for in the Ashirvâd or marriage-blessings is that of 150 years. In some places, we have a blessing for a life of over one thousand years (*Hazâr sâl der bedâr*). There, the signification is that of the continuity of a long line of progeny. Here also the signification seems to be the same, because in the next couplets, he prays for continuity of joy among children and grandchildren.

⁴⁵ I give the heading from Dastur Erachji's Ms. wherein it is clear.

⁴⁶ *Nahîb* also means "plundering, a spoiler" (*Steingass*).

of *jaziyeh* on Zoroastrians. The poor, the orphans and others suffered from its oppression. They went to Rustam and prayed to be relieved from its burden. They said that the incidence of the *Jaziyeh* weighed heavily and brought distress to them and their children. They were harmed and oppressed in its collection. They requested him to relieve them from this tax. Rustam complied with their request and went to the great Diwan. He gave him a certain large sum annually and took the responsibility of annual payment (*zumme* ذمه) of the tax over himself (c. 122). They all blessed Rustam for this generosity.

Relieving the poor of other communities from the burden of Jaziyeh. c. 134 seq.

The next subject is that of Rustam relieving the poor of other communities also from the burden of the *Jaziyeh*⁴⁷. The author says as follows on the subject:—When this act of generosity of Rustam Manock was generally known, all praised him. There were many poor of other communities (*qaom-i-digar*, c. 136) who were imprisoned for the non-payment of the *Jaziyeh*. Their wives and children went to Rustam Manock and said that their husbands and fathers were imprisoned, because they were very poor and could not pay the tax (cc. 140-41)

که ما را نبوده توان جزیه داد
از آن باب سختی بما بر کشاد
که والد و هم شوهران مرا
گرفتند در قید بس با جفا

They added, that tax-collectors (*muhasal*, c. 142) were appointed to collect *Jaziyeh* from them, *i.e.* (women and

⁴⁷ The subject is headed thus in *Dastur Erachji's Ms.* :

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه چندین مردمان
از قوم جد دینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده بودند
اوشانرا نیز مذکور سیت از بند رهانیده

i.e. This (subject) is in the matter of the description (or praise) of *Rustam Manock*. Several persons from the community of another religion (*jud-dinān*) were arrested by the hands of the Governor. The above *Seth* released them also from prison.

children) also. Again, these tax-collectors speak in a vile tone (zabūn) with them. When Rustam heard these grievances, he had compassion upon them and he told Noshirwan,⁴⁸ who was his deputy (or assistant, nāib, c. 150), to go to the Diwan and pay the tax for those poor people and release them from imprisonment. Several thousands (of Rupees هزار چندی c. 154) were spent and the poor freed from the tax. The poor blessed Rustam Manock

که با پسران دولت ایزدا
با آباد دارد رزی تابقا

i. e., May God keep you and your children's wealth in plenty and may you live long.

Then the author, Jamshed, refers to a Persian book *Sad-dar Nazam* and says that, according to that book, one who helps the poor and relieves them from the Jaziyeh tax is blessed by God and his angels (cc. 162-65).

The author then refers to the sack of Surat by Shivaji, and to Rustam Manock's kindness to help the poor during that time of distress. He speaks of this under the following heading :

(2) *Shivaji's Sack of Surat*,
c. 69 et seq.

ظلمانه دادن از طرف مردمان شهر سیت رستم بوقت
شیو غنی⁽⁴⁹⁾

i.e., the giving of the oppressive tax (zulmāneh), on behalf of the people of the city, by Seth Rustam at the time of Shiveh Ghani.

⁴⁸ I cannot identify this Noshirwan. He seems to be the same Noshirwan who is referred to, later on, as receiving Rustam Manok as his guest at Naosari.

⁴⁹ Dastur Erachji's copy gives the heading as follows :

در باب اینکه هر گاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکر خود
در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوي آمده و زرتشتیان را بسیار عذیت
رسانیده بود و بر اوشان خراج ظلمانه نهاده بود در آن وقت
از طرف همه زرتشتیان سیت رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده
هم را از خراج ظلمانه رها نموده بود.

The account in the *Qisseh*, of this sack of Surat, is, in brief, as follows: Once, there came upon the city (of Surat) Shiveh ghani like Ahriman. He arrested from all directions (as hostages for payment) women, men and children. He carried away also as booty silken cloth (قماش qumash) and gold and silver and household furniture (کالا) and jewellery. From such a confusion (gīr o dār گیر و دار)⁵⁰ there was a general flight (گریغ) in the city, in the villages and in the zillahs (ضلع). Again, he set fire here and there. Those who were taken prisoners sent a word to the city that, unless the fine of release (zulamaneh)⁵¹ was paid, there was no chance of release. The people went to Rustam Manock and said (c. 184 *et. seq.*): "We are distressed and helpless from the terror of Shiveh ghani. He has destroyed all our goods and property. He has imprisoned the males of our families and he beats them oppressively. He asks from every person spurious⁵² (or oppressively large) oppressive tax (zulmaneh). He asks from all ten thousand (deh alif) rupees. We are not in a position to give the oppressive fine, which he asks. He has come up like a Ahriman and become the enemy of the city and villages. He has an army of 50,000 soldiers and there are, at the head of the army, two persons as extorters (gīr o dar, lit. those who say, seize and hold). One is Ahujiban (آهوجیبان) and the other Divyan (دیویان). He has become the enemy of the sect of Zoroastrians. These two persons have destroyed many villages by pillage. They have carried away from every house gold and jewellery and apparel and grain as pillage, and then they have set fire to the houses. They have killed several people and have tied the hands of some over their backs. We are some of those who have run away from him." Thus describing the distress, they requested Rustam Manock to help them. Rustam was grieved to hear this and he gave Rs. 10,000 for their release (c. 216) and also supplied food, money and clothing for them.

⁵⁰ Lit. "Seize and hold".

⁵¹ Zulmāneh seems to be a fine or ransom for the release of persons.

⁵² Na-khelaf, dastardly, wicked, spurious, villainous. What is meant is "oppressively large".

The author then narrates the following story of King Minochehr and Aghrérās. Afrasiāb (the Turanian King), *Shivaji and Afrāsiāb, and Rustam Manock and Aghrérās.* at one time, winning a victory, killed Naodar, the Iranian king, and imprisoned his wise officers. He then ordered, that they also may be killed.

Then, the victorious Aghrérās interfered and asked for their release from the King, saying that they were innocent. So, Afrasiāb countermanded his order of killing them and gave them in charge of Aghrérās. Aghrérās (privately) sent a messenger to Zāl-i-Sām that he may send Keshwād with an Iranian army to set free the Iranians from his prison. The Iranians came for their relief, and Aghrérās, under some excuse, absented himself from the palace and went to the court of Afrasiāb. Keshwād restored all the Iranians to liberty and carried them to Zābūl. Afrasiāb on coming to know the true state of affairs, killed Aghrérās.⁵³ Our author then names Firdousi and quotes some of his lines. He then adds, that he mentioned this episode to illustrate the good action of Rustam Manock. In this case, Rustam Manock was like the virtuous Aghrérās, and ghani Sivaji like the wicked Afrasiāb.

(3) *The Account of Rustam Manock's Charities.*

Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's charities, &c., under the following heading :

برای آسایش و آسانی مردمان و ادا کردن کارهای کوفه
و فرضهای خویش

i.e., on (the subject of) the repose and comfort of men and on the performance of acts of charity, and one's own duty.⁵⁴

⁵³ This Agreras is the Agraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII, 131, Yt. IX, 22; Yt. XIX, 77). Vide for the above story and other particulars about this Agrérās my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," pp. 7-10.

⁵⁴ Dastur Erachji's text has a long heading which says: "In the matter of the work of bequests of charity" (auquaf pl. of waqf, like) the building of bridges by Seth Rustam on the banks of waters of rivers and on desolate (kharāb places; laying out of gardens and buildings; and building of big wells everywhere for the repose and comfort of men and the performance of acts of righteousness and one's own duties."

Among the good works of Rustom Manock, mentioned under this heading, we find the following :—

1. He got some roads put in good order.
2. He got *pucca* chunam bridges built over water-courses.
3. He brought under cultivation and gardening, desolate unused (kharij) land.
4. He built great buildings with beautiful gardens with water-courses (Kāriz کَریز)⁵⁵ and favāreh (فواره fountain c. 264).⁵⁶
5. He built a building with a surrounding garden for the charitable use (waqf) of Zoroastrians to be used by them for marriage and Jashan occasions⁵⁷ (c.c. 272-74).
6. He built in the city and in the villages wells for⁵⁸ pure (zalah) water.
7. He got built reservoirs (hauj) for water for the cattle.
8. He got performed in the Dar-i-Meher religious ceremonies like the Vendidad, Visparad, Yasht and Hamāst (c. 280), daily Darun in honour of the Ameshāspands and Asho Farohars, Herbad, Getikharid, Naojote, Zindeh ravān.⁵⁹
9. He helped the poor for the marriage of their children.
10. He helped the Dasturs and the Mobads, i.e., the clergy.

⁵⁵ The Gujarati translator translates karez by કારીજ

⁵⁶ It appears from a long description of these buildings that they were intended for his own self and not for charity.

⁵⁷ I think this is the place still known as the Panchayet ni wadi.

⁵⁸ *Vide* below for the inscription on one of such wells, at Hajira near Surat.

⁵⁹ *Vide* for these ceremonies, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees”.

We find in the above account of Rustam's good works, his *Anquetil Du Perron's* reference to *Rustam's Garden*. Du Perron, in the Discours Preliminaire of his Zend Avesta (p. 361) refers to this garden. While speaking of the burning ground of the Hindus, Anquetil says: "Cet endroit

⁶⁰ I recently made enquiries about the place of this garden from Mr. Manookshah C. Petigara, the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat. In his letter, dated 30th July, in reply to my letter of 26th July 1929, he says: "રોહલ કારીશ મરજારલ વગીલને પુછીને તથા જગ્યા બંને બેઈ આવા ત્યાં રહેતા રખેવાલને પુછીને નીચે મુજબનો ખુલાશો લખા જણાવું છું :

"રસ્તમખાન કરીને એક જગ્યા અમ્બની કુમાર આગળ આવેલા છે જે સુરત રટેશનથી આશરે દોઢ બે માઈલ છે. એ જગ્યામાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાં સારાં ફુલો થાતા હતાં તેમજ તરકારી થતી હતી એ બાગના બાંહેધતુ નામ રસ્તમ હતું અને તે સુરત રસ્તમપુરાના રહીસ હતા અને પરસીઓમાં મખ્યાત હતા એટલે એ રસ્તમ તે રસ્તમ માનેકજ હોવા બેઈએ એમ ધારવામાં આવે છે. એ જગ્યા આસરે ૪૦ વાંધાં છે અને તે એક વખત મરજુમ રોહ નવરોહ બનનલ વગીલની માલકી અને કમળમાં પણ હતી અને હાલમાં એ બાગની જમીન મ્વામી નારાયણ મહારના માહારાજ વડતાલની માદીના આચાર્ય શ્રીપત મસાદ નીહારીલાલ માહારાજના હસ્તકમાં છે. એ જમીનમાં હાલ કુલપાન કે તરકારો જેવું કશું થતું નથી પરંતુ રૂ. ૪૫૦) વારસીક સાથે મણીને ખેતી કરતા માટે બડવા માટે અપાય છે જ્યાં કપાસ જુવાર ધાંચ છે અને એ જગ્યામાં અમ્બની કુમાર મહારેવતુ મંદીર પણ છે અને ભોંકે ઉભાણીએ અવાર નવાર એ જગ્યામાં આવે છે અને ખાસ કરી અખઈ નામનો તહેવાર જે ફવાળી પણ નવમે દીવસે આવે છે તે દીને હાલરો હીંકુઓ નાહવા માટે તથા દર્શન અર્થે ત્યાં જાય છે. એ અમ્બની જગ્યાથી કુલપાડા (આંકુ-એટોલતુ પુલપાર) નો જગ્યા કે જગ્યા હીંકુઓના મુડકાં બાળવામાં આવે છે તે આસરે બસે પગલાથી દુર છે અને એ બંને જગ્યા અમરોહાલના પુલની પુરવ દીશાએ બરોબર પુલની નલકમાં જ આવેલી છે પુલની પાસે કુલપાડા ને ત્યાંથી આસરે ૨૦૦ પગલાં દુર અમ્બની કુમાર છે: હાલ ત્યાં કોઈ કુરવા અર્થે જનુ નથી મચકુ બાગમાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાંક બંગલાઓ હતા પણ હાલ કોઈ નથી.

અચકુર બાગના હાલના રખેવાલમાં એમ માલમ પડે છે કે આગલા વખતમાં એ બાગ સરકારના કબજામાં પણ મચેલો અને મરકારે અરદેશર બહાદુરને તેના માર નોકરોના બદલામાં ભેટ આપેલો અને કરામી નારાયણ એ અરદેસર બહાદુર પર પ્રસન્ન થય થી તેમને પાતાનો મુગઠ, જેને "પાથ" કહે છે તે અરદેશરને ભેટ આપ્યો હતા કે જેનો ઘાટ કાઢીઆવાડી ફીશ પાથાનો છે અને તે મુગઠ હાલ પણ એ અરદેશર બહાદુરનાં કુટુંબમાં મોજુદ છે."

I beg to thank Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, and his Secretary Mr. Manookshah Petigara for all the information they have given me in reply to my inquiries about Rustam Manook. I had the pleasure of visiting Surat, as Mr. Kavasji's guest, in November 1928, when I had the pleasure of visiting several places of Surat connected with the name of Rustam Manook, and I take this opportunity to thank him for all his kindness in helping me in my inquiries.

se nomme Poulpara ; il est sur le bord du Taptí, au-dessous du Jardin du Parse Roustoum, célèbre par les belles fleurs qu'il produit, et où les Habitants de Surate, Naturels et Etrangers, vont souvent prendre le plaisir de la promenade." *i.e.*, This place is called Poulpara ; it is on the bank of the Tapti, below the garden of Parsi Roustam, known for the beautiful flowers which it produces and where the inhabitants of Surat—the Natives and Foreigners—go often to take promenade."

(4) *Rustam and his Three Sons.* Then follow some verses in praise of Rustam and his three sons, under the following heading (c. 298). *در اولاد سیت رستم گوید* ⁶¹

i.e. This is what is said about the descendants of Rustam.

Rustam Manock had three good sons. One was Framarz, the second Bahman, and the third Naoroz. Of these three, Naoroz is my pupil (*پاوش*) ⁶² and he is, like his father, handsome, good-natured and kind-hearted. May these sons be all auspicious to Rustam Manock and may there be many (*farā*) children (*nūrdidan*) in his house (*khané*). ⁶³ He (Rustam Manock) has a virtuous, pious, handsome wife named Ratanbai. Rustam is fortunate in having such a wife (*zauja*) and such children. Then, the author Jamshed blesses Rustam Manock with the mention of the following past great worthies of ancient Iran, wishing, that he may be endowed with all their virtues ⁶⁴ :

Gaiyomard¹

Tehmuras³

Hoshang²

Jamshed⁴

⁶¹ Dastur Erachji's heading runs thus : *در وصف سیت رستم مانگ*
و سه فرزندانش را بیان کرده است

⁶² Avesta *hāvishta*, a disciple.

⁶³ *i.e.*, May the family be blessed with grandchildren. *Nar-dideh*, "beloved child" (Steingass. *نور*).

⁶⁴ *Vide*, for these personages, my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names (1892). (1) p. 4 (Gaya Maretan). (2) *Ibid*, p. 203. (3) *Ibid*, p. 93. (4) *Ibid*, p. 153.

Āfridun (Faridun) ⁵	Ādarbād Mārasfand ¹⁹
Minochehr ⁶	Jāmāsp (Hakim) ²⁰
Kaikobād ⁷	Tus ²¹
Kāus ⁸	Zawar (Zahvāreh) ²²
Siāvakhsh ⁹	Zarir ²³
Kai Khusrau ¹⁰	Rustam ²⁴
Gushtāsp, son of Lonrāsp ¹¹	Zāl ²⁵
Isfandiār ¹²	Kersāsp (son of) Asrat ²⁶
Bahman ¹³	Milād ²⁷
Ardashir (Bābakān) ¹⁴	Giv
Naoshirwān ¹⁵ (son of Kobad)	Framroz
Khusro Parviz ¹⁶	Godrez, the father of 70 sons
Yazdazard ¹⁷	Peshotan
Dastar Ardāi Virāf ¹⁸	

(5) *Rustam's first Interview with the English. His appointment as a broker. His finding a house for them.*

Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's contact with the English factory and of his being appointed its broker, under the following heading:—

در کیفیت انگریز که در ملک هندوستان به شهر سورت آمد
و باو ملاقات شدن سیت رستم و دلال شدن او *

i.e. In the matter of the English who came in the country of India to the city of Surat and the introduction of Seth Rustam with them and his becoming (their) broker ⁶⁵.

(⁵) *Ibid*, p. 99. (⁶) *Ibid*, p. 148. (⁷) *Ibid*, p. 53. (⁸) *Ibid*, p. 41. (⁹) *Ibid*, p. 196. (¹⁰) *Ibid*, p. 214. (¹¹) *Ibid*, p. 4. (¹²) *Ibid*, p. 194. (¹³) Also known as Ardashir Darāz-dast (long-handed), identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus. (¹⁴) Artaxerxes. (¹⁵) Chosroes I. (¹⁶) Chosroes II. (¹⁷) The last Sassanian King. (¹⁸) The Visionary of the Ardai Viraf nameh. (¹⁹) The Author of a Pahlavi Pand-nameh. (²⁰) The author of Jāmāspi. (²¹) *Ibid*, p. 27. (²²) Brother of Rustam. (²³) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names, p. 83. (²⁴) *Vide* Bundelesh Chap. XXXI 4. (²⁵) Father of Rustam, *Vide* Shāh-nāme. (²⁶) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names p. 59. (²⁷) *Vide* the Shāh-nāme for this and the next four personages. *Vide* Justi's *Iranischen Namen buch* for some of these personages.

⁶⁵ Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:—

در باب اینکه انگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش بهندوستان
در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانکرا باو ملاقات شد

I will give my translation of the author's account of his first interview with the English factor and of the first house of the English factory at Surat in details: "The English (Angréz) came to Surat from their country, in splendour, with money (ganj) and coins (dinār). They came to India in ships in great caravans (*i.e.*, fleets) by the way of the great sea (c. 340). They came for noble or valuable (arj-mand) trade in the dress of great merchants. Seth Rustam visited them; the Kulah-push⁶⁶ (*i.e.*, the hat-wearers *i.e.*, the English), were much pleased with that visit. Within a short time, friendship (tavādād) increased between them, and, from union of colour (yak-rangi or one kind of pleasure or mode or manners), they became united in heart (yak-del) and familiar (sur-mand)⁶⁷. They then made him their broker (dalāl) and entrusted to him all their work. Then, he made enquiries (taffahus) for a palatial building for the residence (bāshandeh) of the English. After many inquiries, (he found) a great building, great in height, length and breadth, as pleasant as that of the palace of Jam (Jamshed), with a large garden like the place of paradise (Iram)⁶⁸, which was heart-ravishing and situated on the bank of the river and which was well ornamented and decorated. (It was so healthy that) if a sick man lived there, his malady soon disappeared; if one was tired of heat⁶⁹, he recovered by living there for a week; if one complaining of an eye-complaint, went there, he recovered by its excellent air. The auspiciousness (baraqqat) of the place was such, that if a merchant, or a poor man or any man lived there and carried on his commercial business or his other trade there, God gave him success unobserved (az ghaib) and he become fortunate.⁷⁰ It was a beautiful place and its climate (āb o havā) was full of

⁶⁶ In India, the first comers from Europe were generally known as the wearers of hats, their hats being quite distinct from the Indian turbans. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the first Baronet, in his *Kholāsseh-i Panchat*, similarly speaks of them as *tōpi-wālā*, *i.e.*, those putting on *topies* or hats. He spoke of Indians, as *pāgdiwālās*, *i.e.*, those who put on turbans. I remember, hearing in my younger days the word "*tōpi-wala*" colloquially used for Europeans.

⁶⁷ From *sur* banquet, pleasure, nuptials.

⁶⁸ Iram "the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shadād bin Ad, in emulation of the gardens of paradise" (Steingass).

⁶⁹ Perhaps what is meant is "suffered from prickly heat."

⁷⁰ This is an allusion to the belief that some houses are very lucky.

benefit (afādāt) and deserved praise (c. 355). This paradise-like place belonged to a merchant of Surat. His name Haji Hajaz Beg is known and famous in many places (c. 347). He (Rustam) got this large building given to the English at a high rent. He fixed its rent at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English decorated it according to their own contrivance and at their own expense. It was made, as it were, fit for royalty by many decorations. Then the secret-knowing God made the good fortune of the English very brilliant.”

(b) *The Visit of Rustam Manock, in the company of the English Factor, to the Court of Aurangzeb.*

Then follows an account (c. 363) of the visit of Rustam Manock to the Court of Aurangzeb in the company of the British factor under the following heading⁷¹:

رفتن سیت رستم به ہم راه کلم پوش انگریز بخدمت شاه
دلی و عرض کردن اراز جانب کلم پوش بحضرت پادشاه و
منشور یافتن از او

i.e., the going of Seth Rustam in the company of the habit wearing English to the Court (lit. service) of the King of Delhi and his requesting His Majesty on behalf of the English and obtaining a Royal mandate (manshūr) from him.

The account in brief runs as follows: In order to have an order (manshur c. 363), Rustam went with the Englishman (angrez) towards Delhi. At that time, the rule of Aurangzeb was like that of the brilliant sun (tābān khur c. 365). Rustam submitted the case of the English thus: “This man has come from the West (khāvar) to India for commerce, but the Amirs of Your Majesty’s exalted court do not permit him (to live and trade) in the city. This Englishman is a good man and expects

⁷¹ Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:

در باب ایفک سیت رستم مانک برای کردن * کوتی انگریز
در شهر سورت نزدیک پادشاه دہلی رفت و شاه را عرض کرد
و فرمان شاهی یافت انگریز را در شهر سورت ماندن جای داد
بیان آن

**koti, kothi, Factory.*

favour from the royal Court. He requests that, through the kindness of the King, they may give him a place where he can carry on his trade and have a store-house (*ambār-khāneh*)". Before submitting this request, Rustam had pleased the King and his courtiers with rich and rare offerings of presents (*nazraneh* ⁷² c. 380). Therefore his request was recommended for acceptance to the King by his courtiers. At that time, there was before the King, a Vazir named Asad Khān (c. 383). The King ordered him to give an order to the Englishman (*kolah-posh*). Asad Khān ordered a *dabir* (Secretary) to write out an order, that the Englishman may be allowed to have admittance in the city and to have a place for his house and factory and that his goods of merchandise were exempted from tax (*zakāt*). The King then signed this order with his seal. The King entrusted the order to his minister Asad Khān who gave it to a messenger (*chawos*) to be carried to the Englishman. The Englishman went in the direction of Surat and the Seth (Rustam Manock) went in another direction. He went out with his servants to see⁷³ different cities.

He visited Dandeh Rajpore (داندہ راجپور). Siddee Yāqoub (7) *Rustam's visit of Dandeh Rajpore, Damaun and Nao-sari and return to Surat.* (سیدی یعقوب) was the Governor (*hakim*) of the place. He welcomed and treated right hospitably Rustam Manock. When Rustam departed, he gave him a dress of honour (*khela'at*). From there, he went to Damaun where a Portuguese *pādri*⁷⁴ (پادری)

⁷² This custom of *nazrāneh* played a prominent part in the administration of the Moghal Emperors. It brought in a large revenue to them. The gross revenue of Aurangzeb was said to be £90,000,000, i.e., about Rs. 130 crores. In this source of income, the *nazrāneh* played a prominent part. One can form an idea of this payment from what Tavernier paid. "Tavernier's present to Aurangzib on one single occasion amounted in value to 12,119 livres, or over £900, and this was a trifle compared with the vast sums presented by the nobles to His Majesty on his birthday and other occasions." (Aurangzib by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 126).

⁷³ *Tafarruj*, relaxation, enjoyment.

⁷⁴ *Padri* is a Portuguese word meaning "a Christian priest, a learned and good man" (Steingass). "The Portuguese word, *Padre*, was originally applied to Roman priests only. It is now the name given all over India to priests, clergymen, or ministers of all denominations." (Travels of F. Bernier by A. Constable (1891) p. 323, n. 1).

فرنگی) was at the head (sar) of the administration. He entertained Rustam hospitably and entrusted to him all his work (hamé kār-i-khūd). He also gave him a dress of honour (sarpāv⁷⁵ c. 413).

From there, he went to Naosari, where the elders (buzorgān) went out to receive him (pazireh). He entered Naosari in the company of the Anjuman (c. 415). There, he was the guest of a relative named Noshirwan⁷⁶. He went to the Dar-i-Meher *urvisgah*⁷⁷ and had a sacred bath at the hands of a pious priest. He drank Nirangdin⁷⁸ and became pure internally and externally. He then went to holy Atash Behram,⁷⁹ and, after worshipping there, gave gifts (ashōdād)⁸⁰ to the Dasturs and Mobads and to the poor. He sent (arsāul namud) rich presents to the leading men (raisān) and received rich presents in return. From there, he returned to Surat where his people, the great and the small, went out of the city to welcome him. He then paid a visit to the Nawāb and opened before him the royal *farman* which the King had given in favour of the English. The Nawāb got it read by his Secretary (dabir), and, with all respects, gave it into the hands of the English. The English sent it (the farmān) to their Royal Court at home (Vilāyat, c. 427). The British King was pleased to see it and was pleased to learn that the hand of Rustam was in the transaction, and, as Rustam was the broker of the English, he was pleased to entrust work to him.

⁷⁵ The proper word is sar-a pa (from head to foot) "*Ser-apak*" or vesture from head to foot. (Bernier. Constable's Translation, p. 118).

⁷⁶ The Gujarati translator of the transliterated Gujarati text gives the name as Noshervān Meherji (નોશરવાન મેહરજી)

⁷⁷ For Dar-i-Meher and Urvis-gah, *vide* my "R and Customs of the Parsis" pp. 261-62 and 263-64.

⁷⁸ *Vide Ibid*, pp. 255-57.

⁷⁹ *Vide Ibid*, pp. 211-39. It was a custom, up those who went to pray before the sacred fire of have a bath before they went in. Rustam Manock bath, a higher or sacred bath, because he had a lon not observe all the required religious observances.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 407.

(8) *Release of the ship of Osmān Chalībī from the hands of the Portuguese,* c. 432 seq.

Then, we have an account of Osmān Chalībī under the following head :

در حکایت تجار عثمان چلیبی که بزرگ
کشتی او از سبب جنگ شدن در دریای فرنگیان
از دریای خود گرفته بودند

The account, in brief, runs as follows: There was a great well-known merchant at Surat, named Osmān Chalībī. Among his many ships (fulkhā), one ship (safineh) was very large and it was coming laden from Jeddah (جده). It was passing by an unbeaten path (hanjār) in the great sea. A ship of armour (armār)⁸¹, belonging to the Christians⁸² met it and both the ships fought. Cannon (top) shots were fired by both. Many Portuguese (Farang) were killed. But, at last, turning their ship⁸³, they (the Portuguese) captured the ship of Osmān and took all the men therein prisoners. They seized all goods and cash (naqdi) of 4 lakhs. They took the ship to the port of Damaun. Osmān who was a Turki by caste (jāt) heard this and became very sorry. Amānat Khan was then the Nawāb of Surat and Osmān lodged a complaint before him. The Nawāb summoned (ahzār) all the mansabdārs before him for consultation. The Nawāb sent for Rustam and said: "In the matter of ships, strict conditions have been made with the Portuguese through you.⁸⁴ Why have they violated the conditions and have captured the ship of Osmān? Rustam! the affair can be set right at your hands. The Portuguese know you and they are enamoured of your name. They accept your word; so, this affair will be set right by none but you. You get the ship of Osmān released." Rustam undertook the solution of the affair. He went home and took many valuable things to be presented to the Portuguese and started for Damaun. Many members of the

⁸¹ ارمار is not a Persian word. It is persianized from English (ship of) armour".

⁸² Tarsā. Here, the Portuguese are meant. The word is sometimes applied to Parsees also in the sense of fire worshippers. (Steingass).

⁸³ gharab, "a kind of ship, grab".

⁸⁴ The Nawāb of Surat had, on behalf of the Mogal Emperors, entered into some definite terms with the Portuguese through Rustam Manock, because he (Rustam) was the broker of the Portuguese also.

Court of the Nawāb went with Rustam upto the gate of the city to bid him farewell. Rustam, at first went to Naosari and prayed before the Ātash Behrām, asking for God's blessings upon his errand. Pious Mobads also joined him in the prayer for his success. Rustam presented money to the Mobads. Then, he left for Damaun. When he arrived at the outskirts of the town, the chief (sālār), Captain Kerān (کران), came to know of his arrival. He sent a few great men to receive him. Going into Capt. Keran's court, he submitted his presents before him. Then, he went to the great Pādri (high priest) and gave him also some presents. Rustam then narrated the case of the capture of Osmān's ship and requested its release. He said: "Through me, you have given strong promises to the Moghals, that you would never capture Surat ships by force (jahd). To turn away from a promise is like turning away from one's religion (c. 493). The Christian (Portuguese) general replied: "The ship carried Turks (Turkiān) on board and those Turks showed impudence (shokhi) to our people: they came running upon our people and killed and wounded some of our people. Then it was that our people captured the ship, and making prisoners of the men on it, brought it here. Now, our superior named Vijril (ویجریل) is at Goa and I have informed him about this affair. If he gives permission, I will hand over to you the ship and its goods." Then Rustam asked his advice, as to what to do under the circumstances. Capt. Kerān suggested that Rustam may go immediately to Goa before the superior officer Vijril, and he offered to give him a letter of recommendation. Rustam started with his men for Goa, with that letter. He came to Vasai (وسئی Bassein). There was in Bassein one Captain Sarān (ساران), who went outside the town to receive Rustam. Rustam explained to him what his mission was and said that he wanted to go to Goa with a letter of recommendation from Capt. Kerān. Rustam stayed at his (Capt. Sarān's) place for full one day (rozi tamām) and Capt. Sarān sent him raw (tām) articles of food⁸⁵ and drink for him.

⁸⁵ اکل akal eating. The Portuguese officer sent to Rustam uncooked articles of food instead of cooked ones, because upto about 50 or 70 years ago the Parsees did not eat food cooked by non-Parsees.

Rustam left Bassein next morning when Capt. Sarān presented to him a suite of dress and also gave him a recommendatory letter. When Rustam reached Goa, Vijril came to know of the arrival⁸⁶ of their broker (dalāl, c. 528), and he sent some men of position to receive him. On appearing before him, Rustam gave him some valuable presents (c. 437). Then, Rustam narrated the object of his visit and gave him the above-mentioned two letters of recommendations. Vijril heard him patiently and asked him to have patience, and to stay there for some time. Rustam stayed there for nine months, passing his time in pleasure and prayer. During that period, he sent for, from Surat, other rich articles to be presented to some leading men at Goa. During his visit, he built in Goa a large fine two-storied (do mahlla) house with a garden round it. He then entertained Vijril with his chieftains in that house. The news of his arrival at Goa and of all the affairs reached the Portuguese King at Portugal (c. 560),⁸⁷ who was pleased to know of his arrival at Goa. In the end, Vijril returned to Rustam Manock the ship of Usman with all its contents. Rustam was also presented with a dress of honour. Rustam returned to Surat in the above ship of Osmān Chālībī. The Nawāb of Surat was much pleased with the success of Rustam's mission and gave him a dress of honour. Then Osman Chālībī also came to Rustam and gave him a dress of honour from himself.

The Kisseh proper ends with couplet 583. The rest of it (584-610) is a post-script from the pen of Dastur Minochehr, wherein he gives the name of the author as Jamshed Kaikobad and its date as 1080 A. Y. He adds that as the existing copies of the qisseh were incorrect, and as, here and there, the couplets were not in proper meter, owing to the fault of the copyists, at the desire of Manockji Merwanji Seth, he (Minochehr, son of Edalji surnamed Jāmāspāsā) revised it, re-writing it in some places. He gives the date of his revision, as said above, by the chronogram, *ghārji* (غارجي) which gives the date as 1214 A. Y., i.e., 1845 A.C.

⁸⁶ It appears that Rustam went to Goa by land route.

⁸⁷ It seems that the matter of returning a big ship with its rich merchandise captured in a sea-skirmish was a matter of great importance. So, the Viceroy of Goa made inquiries and consulted the home authorities.

We learn from the above summary that this *kisseh*, in praise of Rustam Manock, contains accounts and references to the following events of historical importance :—

1. The *Jaziyeh* or poll-tax, imposed by Aurangzib, from the oppressive burden of which Rustam released his community as a body and also poor individuals of other communities.
2. The Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of which Rustam Manock relieved his people.
3. Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat and his accompanying a member of the factory to the Court of Aurangzib to pray for concessions.
4. Rustam Manock's Visit to Dandeh Rajpuri, on the coast about 40 miles from Bombay, which was long a seat of war between Shivaji and Aurangzib, a war in which the English were, at times, associated. His visit of Damaun and Naosari.
5. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get released a ship of Osmān Chalibī, which was captured by the Portuguese.

I will speak at some length about these events, but, before doing so, I will give an account of the life of Rustam Manock, as presented by the *Kisseh* and as gathered from other sources.

VI

(B) An Account of the Life of Rustam Manock.

Rustam Manock was born at Surat in 1635 A.C.⁸⁸ He was the founder of the well-known Bombay family, known among Parsees as the Seth Khandan or Seth

⁸⁸ I calculate this date of birth from the date of his death given by Bomanji B. Patel (*Parsee Prakash* (1878) Vol. I, p. 23). He says that he died on roz 17, mah 10, year 1090 A. Y., i.e., 30th July 1721, at the age of 86. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, in his *Genealogy of the Seth family* (p. 9) makes the same statement. So if he died in 1721 A. C. at the age of 86, we get the year of his birth as (1721—86=) 1635. Ratanji Framji Wacha in his *Mumbai no bahar* (પ્રબલ્દને બાહર p. 427), published in 1874, gives the year of his death as 1088 A.Y., i.e., 1719 A. C. at the age of 83 and that of his birth as 1002 A. Y., i.e., 1633. But I accept the date given by Rustam's descendant, Mr. Jalbhoy.

family, a family some of whose members have founded several charities. It appears that the family surname, "Seth," has come into use since Rustom Manock's time. He is all along spoken of in the Qisseh as **سیت** Sett. The Qisseh speaks of him as the Luminary or Sun of the assemblies (*sarāj-i-majālis* **سراج مجالس** c. 57) of the Zoroastrians. What seems to have been meant is that he was their leader and presided at their communal meetings.

The word Sett (**سیت**) is Gujarati Sheth (શેઠ), Marathi *Signification* Sheth (शेठ). It has passed into Tamil as Seth of the word Seth. and into Telugu as Setti or Satti. It is an Indo-Iranian word. It is Avestaic *sraeshta*, Sanskrit *shrestha* (श्रेष्ठ)⁸⁹ and comes from a root, Avesta *sri*, to be handsome (Sans. श्री beauty, prosperity). The Avestaic word *sraeshta* is the superlative degree of *sri* and literally means "the most beautiful." According to Wilson, in India, the word Seth has come to mean "a merchant, a banker, a trader, a chief merchant : often used in connection with the name as a respectful designation, as Jagat-seth. In some places, the Seth or Sethi is the head of the mercantile or trading body, exercising authority over them in matters of caste and business, and as their representative, with the government."⁹⁰ It seems that as a leader, not only of his own community, but of the Surat community in general, Rustam Manock came to be known as "Seth."⁹¹

The *qisseh* says, that he came down from a priestly stock (nazadash bud as tokhmeh Mobadān c. 54).
His Family Stock. Many priestly families of Naosari look to one Nairyosang Dhaval as their progenitor. This Nairyosang Dhaval lived in about the 12th century⁹²

⁸⁹ Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 475. ⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, in his "પારસી વીપચો" p. 39, thus speaks on this subject; "શેઠ માણિકજી ચાંદણીજીના બાવા જમશેદજી ધણજી મશેજી હુતા, પછી પાછળથી માણિકજીજીને ત્યાં રસતમ નામનો બેટો જન્મવા પછી નરીજી 'સીથેયુ'; અને સુરતની અનલુઅનમાં ચોટા શેઠીયા થયા, તેમજ મોગજી અમલદારોમાં અને અંગ્રજ કોઠીવાળાઓમાં લાગવન વધવાથી તેવજી સુરતના પારસીઓમાં વહીલા થયા પાછલા અને 'શેઠ'ને નામે ઓળખાતાં તેજ અટક પડી."

⁹² Vide my Gujarati paper, entitled નેચરિસ'ન થવલનો સને (the Date of Neryosang Dhaval) in my Iranian Essays (પરીની વીપચો) part III, pp. 197-203). The late Dr. W. E. West, also gives the same date (Ibid pp. 192-200).

A.C., According to the genealogy given in Jalbhoy Seth's book, his descent from Nairyosang Dhaval runs down as follows : Neryosang (son of Dhaval)—Mobad—Khushmastā—Khujastā—Bahmanyār—Khorshed—Bahmanyār—Hom—Faridun—Chāndā—Rustam—Kāmdin—Faridun—Chāndānā—Jamshed—Manock⁹³—Rustam (Rustam Manock).⁹⁴

Though he and some of his near forefathers belonged to Surat, his ancestors belonged to Naosari. For this reason, he and his family took a great interest in the welfare of the priests of Naosari.⁹⁵

His great grand-father Chāndānā⁹⁶ was the first who went from Naosari to reside at Surat. ⁹⁷ He was in very poor circumstances when he went to live at Surat. Chāndānā and his son continued to be poor, but the family began to see better times from the time of Manock, the father of Rustam.⁹⁸ The family had a number of relatives in Naosari, and we will see, later on, that Rustam Manock, when he went to Naosari stayed there, at the house of a relative Nusserwanji, of whom, a copy of the Gujarati transliteration

⁹³ Manock was the adopted son of Jamshed.

⁹⁴ *Vide* Mr. Jalbhoy Seth's Genealogy p. 2 and the geneological tree in the pocket of the book ; *Vide* Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur's ગાંધીજીના ઇતિહાસ (1899) p. 189. *Vide* its rendering into English entitled "The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests" with Sir G. Birdwood's Introduction p. 189.

⁹⁵ His descendants, upto now, have been acknowledged as the Seth, i.e., the leaders or the heads of the priestly class of Naosari. Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoyi Seth, the present male heir of the Charities Trust founded by his ancestor Manockji Nowroji, when he went to Naosari for the first time, was welcomed by the Naosari priests with an address as their leader. Therein, they said : "Not only the Naosari priests, but priests of other towns also looked to Rustam Manock's direct male heirs as leaders." For example, we find that the Godawra Mobads, i.e., the Mobads of the suburbs, &c., of Surat, met on 25th May 1723, at Rustam's family house at Surat, to settle their ecclesiastical disputes, and his son Framjee attested the document of settlement (Parsee Prakash I, p. 850). Again, later on, the Sanjana priests appealed to his direct male heir, Mr. Manockji Nowrojee Seth, in the matter of the sacred fire which they removed from Naosari. The records of the Parsi Panchayat contain many references to the Seth Khāndān family having been looked at, as the leaders of the Mobads of Naosari.

⁹⁶ *Vide* above for the pedigree. ⁹⁷ મુંબઈ બહાર (Mumbāi nō Bahār) by Mr. Ruttonjee Framjee Wacha, p. 427. ⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

and translation speaks as Nusserwanji Meherji. As he was thus connected with the Naosari priests, we find Rustam Manock signing first, as a witness, an important communal document, dated 6th June 1685, relating to the Naosari Mobads and the Sanjana Mobads.⁹⁹ From his time forward, the principal heir of the Seth family, in direct descent from Rustam Manock, is acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naosari as their head. It appears from the genealogical tables of the Naosari priests, that the family originally belonged to the Pāvri stock of families.¹⁰⁰ Rustam Manock's great great grandfather Faridun Kāmdin Rustam was Pāvdi by surname.¹⁰⁰

He became Navar, *i.e.*, passed through the ceremony of initiation into the class of priesthood, on roz 18, mah 2, Samvad 1731, *i.e.*, 1675 A.C.¹⁰¹ He was aged forty at the time. At present, this seems to be a very grown up age for entry into Nāvarhood.¹⁰² But, there have been occasionally cases of initiation into Nāvarhood at a grown up age.

In Samvant 1741 (*i.e.*, 1685 A.C.), the Naosari Bhagarsāth priests and the Sanjānā priests passed a mutually signed document in the matter of their sacerdotal rights and privileges.¹⁰³ Rustam Manock, signed the document, as a witness, at the top, being the leader of the Surat Parsees. The document is

Rustom Manock, signatory of a communal document.

⁹⁹ Parsi Prakash I, p. 19. *Vide* for this document, the Ms. note-book of Jamaspji Sorabji Dastur, in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ *Vide* અધિરાન દેશની ભગરસાથ વંશાવલી (The Genealogy of the Bhagarsath priests by Ervad Rustom Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana), p. 188. *Vide* the English Edition by Austa Naoroz Ervad M. Parvez, with Sir George Birdwood's Introduction (1899) pp. 188-189.

¹⁰¹ *Vide* Ervad Mahiar N. Kutar's Faresht of Navars, published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Vol. I p. 36. The entry runs as follows :—

શી વન ૧૭૩૧ રોજ ૧૮ મા. ૨ એ. રસ્તમ એ. અનેક પાલક જમરોદનો ચાંદલ ફરીનો. એ. જમરોદ એ. ફરીનો ચાંદલ. Two sons of Rustam Manock—Framji and Nowroji—were not initiated, but Bahman, the 2nd son, was initiated in Samvat 1757 (1701 A.C.) (*Vide* the Faresht op. cit. p. 77). The entry runs thus : “ન. ૬૩૨ ૧૧. રોજ ૧૬મા. ૮ એ. બેમન એ. બેરામ એ. અનેક એ. ચાંદની એ. ફરકુન ની. એ. બેરામ એ. અનેક એ. ચાંદની અનોશીરવાન ફ. રસ્તમ અનેક ચાંદની. Bahmanji was adopted by his uncle Behramji.

¹⁰² *Vide* for this ceremony of initiation, known as Navar, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees” pp. 197-204.

¹⁰³ Dastur Jamaspji Sorabji's Ms. Notes in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, Vol. I, p. 31. *Vide* Parsee Prakash I, pp. 18-19.

dated: “શંવત ૧૭૪૧ના વરષે શને એજાવરદીન ૧૦૫૪ રોજ દુપમેહેર માહા આવાં હીને દીને. It seems that, even after his death, his house at Surat was held to be, as it were, a rendezvous for parties who fought for their rights, to meet and settle disputes. We find, as said above, that the Godavra priests and laymen of villages round Surat met in his house on 25th May 1723 to settle their differences. The document of settlement was witnessed by his son Framjee ¹⁰⁴.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock built several wells for public use. When I had the pleasure of visiting Hajira, a sea health-resort near Surat in 1909 ¹⁰⁵ I saw there a well bearing the following inscription in Persian, showing that the well was built by Rustam Manock :

۸... مانکجي پارسى کرم و این چاه فی سبیل الله کندیدم و
برکس که آب آنچاه بخورد ثواب این جناب باین غریب جایز
گردد تاریخ یزد جرد سنه ۱۰...

Translation.—(1) ¹⁰⁶ Manockji Parsee, dug this ¹⁰⁷ and well in the way of God ¹⁰⁸. Whoever drinks the water of this place, the righteous reward (sawāb) of that person ¹⁰⁹ may be made receivable (ja'iz) to this humble self (i.e., me). The date of the Yazdajardi year 10... ¹¹⁰.

The Gujarati inscription, which is clear, runs thus :
ધરમ ઓ અરથે અ'ધાર રસ્તમજી માણેકજીએ કુએ બ ધાવે શંવત ૧૭૫૫ ના
શરાવણ સુદ ૩.

Translation.—Andhiaroo ¹¹¹ Rustamji Manockji got this well built out of charity. Samvat 1755, Shravan Sud 3.

¹⁰⁴ Parsee Prakash I, p. 850, col. 1.

¹⁰⁵ After writing the above I saw the well again in November 1928.

¹⁰⁶ The first words are not clearly legible on the stone, but they may be

من (ستم جي i.e., “I Rustomji.” ¹⁰⁷ Doubtful.

¹⁰⁸ Fi sabilillah “ in the way of God, for the love of God, for sacred uses ” (Steingass).

¹⁰⁹ The word may be *junat*, i.e., gatherer, plucker.

¹¹⁰ The last two figures are not legible. But, in the Hindu date in Gujarati, the year is clear as 1755 Shrawan Sud. 3. This gives the corresponding Parsee year as 1068 and the Christian year as 1699. *Vide* Jalbhoy Seth's book of Genealogy, p. 9. ¹¹¹ i.e., one belonging to the priestly class.

As said by Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel, in his "History of Surat", after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707¹¹² some of the Parsis of Naosari, were tired of the depredations of the Mahrattas in their town and of the rule of some of the officers ; so, a number of them, about one to two thousand, left Naosari with their families and went to live at Surat. It seems that it was at this time. that Rustom Manock founded a quarter for them to live in and it was named Rustampura after him. A Tower of Silence was built at Surat for these fugitive Parsees. They asked for land for a Tower from Nawab Momin Khan in 1715 or 1716. They met in 1722, to confer on this subject and began collecting subscription in 1723¹¹³.

Rustompura in Surat, founded by Rustam Manock.

The Qisseh refers to a building with a garden, given by Rustam Manock, for the charitable use of Zoroastrians (cc. 272-74). This building with a garden seems to be that which is now known as *Panchāt ni wādi* (પંચાતની વાડી) i.e., the garden-house of the Panchāyet¹¹⁴, i.e. of the Zoroastrian public¹¹⁵.

It appears that Rustam had made such a name, that his name was commemorated in the prayer of Dhup Nirang,¹¹⁶ recited after his times. There is an old manuscript of the Khorddeh Avesta, written in Persian character, in 1115 Yazdazardi (in Samvat 1802 1746 A.C.) i.e., about 183 years ago by Ervad

Rustam Manock's name commemorated in the Dhup Nirang

¹¹² સુરતની ત્રણસીયા, ૧૮૪૦, ૫૧૧ પૃષ્ઠ.

¹¹³ B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ For the word "Panchayet," vide my "History of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay" Chap. III. Vide my article, in Edwardes' Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol III, pp. 323-28.

¹¹⁵ After writing this paper, I had the pleasure of visiting this place in November 1928. Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, a grandson of Rustom Manock, had, when the family transferred itself to Bombay, built a similar wādi or garden in Bombay, which was long known as *Panchayet ni wādi*. Latterly, it came to be known as Manockji Seth's Wadi. The old name "Panchayet ni wadi" has left its mark in the name of the lane, which first led to it. The lane is still called Panchayet Lane (Vide Mr. S. T. Sheppard's "Bombay Place-names," p. 119).

¹¹⁶ Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 442-43 for this ceremony.

Jamshed Dastur Jamasp bin Asa.¹¹⁷ In this old Ms. of the Khordeh Avesta, we find, among the names, after that of Neryosang Dhaival, the undermentioned three names preceding those of some Behedins: Dastur Meherji Ervad Vacha, Ervad Rustam Osta Manock, Osta Naoroz Ervad Rustam.

The first of these three names is that of the well-known Dastur Meherji Rana of Naosari. The second is that of Rustom Manock, and the third that of his son Naoroji who had gone to Europe.¹¹ (Folio 79a, ll. 2-3).

A Dutch record or Register-book refers to Rustam Manock.

I am indebted for this information to Rev. Father

A Dutch Record of 1681. Heras, Professor of History in the St. Xavier's College of Bombay. Finding a Parsee name in a Dutch record, he kindly drew my attention to it. He sent me at first his following translation of an extract from the book: "The Dutch Diary of Batavia mentions several letters received from India and, among them, a translation of a Benjaen letter written by Rustomjee Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Suratta." (Dagh Register 1681, p. 626).

¹¹⁷ Born 1732, died 1786. He was a learned priest of Naosari. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 68). He is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron (1771 A.C.) in his Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 428. Anquetil, having heard of him as a great Dastur, made it a point to see him at Naosari on his way from the Island of Elephanta to Surat. *Vide* my "Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab", p. 52.

¹¹⁸ The above Ms. bears the date *roz Meher mah Tir*, year 1115 Yazdazardi. It gives the corresponding other years as 1159 Hijra, 1153 Fasli, 1802 Samvat, 1667 Salivan. *Vide* the colophon at the end, a few pages after the 128th folio. The Ms. belongs to Mobad Kavasji Pestanji Karkaria. The scribe gives his name as Mobad Jamshed bin Dastur Jamasp bin Asaji bin Fardunji Bhagarieh. It was written in Naosari for Mobad Naoroz bin Ratanji bin Manockji Dorabji. I beg to thank Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria for kindly procuring it for me for perusal. There is one peculiarity in the Dhup Nirang, given in this Ms. The *khshnuman* of Dhup Nirang as now recited is that of Sarosh, but here the scribe says: It may be any *khshnuman* (آنچه خشنومی باشد). Then, for the *khshnuman*, recited at the end of the Nirang, the *khshnuman* mentioned is that of Hormuzd Khudai (folio 81 b, l. 3). پورمزد خدای ویسپ ساردا فروش بر ساد.

On making further inquiries from Father Heras in the matter of the extract, he thus wrote in his letter of 1st September 1927 about the title of the book: "The diary, mentioning the said Parsi, records the events of 1681. The title of the book is as follows: 'Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passereude daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1681 van Dr. F. de Haan Batavia—'s Hague 1919.'" "That reads in English: 'Diary written in the Batavia Castle by travellers to the places and all over Dutch Indies in the year 1681: (edited) by Dr. F. de Haan.' The Note in Dutch itself runs thus:

".....mitsgaders noch een translaat Benjaanse missive, door den volmagt der drie Europiaanse natien in Suratta negotierende genaemt Rustemsie Zeraab."¹¹⁹

Translation.—A translation of a Benjian letter written by Rustemsie Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Surat.

Now, who is this Benjaen and what is the name Rustumsie Zeraab. I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestanji Khareghat for kindly putting me in the right track by explaining the word and identifying the name. The word Benjaen is "Banian" which meant "Gujarati" and the word *zeraab*, after Rustamjee, is *shroff*. Now, Rustam as a broker was a shroff also. Jalbhoy Seth speaks of him as શ્રીશ્રી i.e., shroff, and we know from subsequent events, that Rustam Manock had lent a large sum of money to the English factory. I beg to thank Father Heras for kindly drawing my attention to this book.

The new thing that we learn from this Dutch Register is that Rustam Manock was a broker, not of one or two but three nations. Though not explicitly mentioned, we infer, that the third nation, besides the two,—the Portuguese and the English—was the Dutch. From the date of the record, it appears then, that Rustam Manock was appointed a broker of the Dutch some time before 1681.

¹¹⁹ Dagh Register (1681), p. 626.

Some European writers, referring to Rustam Mannoek or his sons.

(a) *Sir John Gayer and his Council of Surat on Rustam Manock.*

1. Rustam was an influential man at this time (about A.C. 1706) and did business also with private shippers.

¹²⁰ In a Gujarati Ms. of the Pahlavi Jamaspī, written on 21st January 1840, in the list of events added to the prescribed events, we find Sir John Gayer, referred to as coming to Surat in Samvat 1750 (A.C. 1694). We read the following about his arrival ; “શ'વત ૧૭૫૦ માહે રોજ ૫ માહુ દડે શજન ગેર શીનુર વેળાપાલ આવેઘેા છે એ દન” (p. 301 of the Ms.) i.e., “In Samvat 1750, on *roz 5 mah 6*, Shajan G'r Shinor came from London.” The Shajan Ger Shinor, mentioned here, is a corruption of Sir John Gayer. The word Shinor is corrupted from Signor (Seignior, Fr. Seigneur, Portug. Senhor, Lat. Senior) i.e. Sir. *Vide* my translation of the Pahlavi Jamaspī, Introduction, p. XLII.

¹²¹ The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., afterwards Sir William Hedges, (1681-87) illustrated by copious extracts from unpublished records by Col. Henry Yule. Vol. III (1889), p. CV., n3.

2. He had some influence also with the Governor (Nawab) of Surat.
3. Gayer, who had differences with him, attributes that influence to bribery.

We read the following in the Diary of William Hedges¹²² :—

(b) *Nicholas
Waite on Rustam
Manock.*

‘ Sir N. Waite writes in a letter to the Directors (of the English Company), dated ‘Bombay Castle, 26th November 1707’, in his usual confused and almost unintelligible

style: “ I have not received copie of your consultation Books from Messrs. Probey & Bonnell, as told you by the Albemarle. expected to enable my fully examining their last Books of two years jumbled together, am apt to believe may not now come upon the Publick news wrote from the other Coast that certain alterations that will be made on this side, the Suratt gentlemen writes are confirm’d by the great President’s directions, Rustumjee being Broker to all their private ships, thereby setting up an opposite Interest to the United Trade, the prejudice of which the Managers may read in our Consultations was wrote the Governor and Councill of Madrass, and this year they appointed the Old Company’s Broker Venwallidass with Rustumjee to be their Brokers.” We learn the following facts about Rustam Manock from this letter, by Sir N. Waite, of 26th November 1707 :—

1. By this time, his relations with Sir N. Waite were strained.
2. Besides being broker to the European Companies, he was also the broker of the owners of private ships and this connection was taken by Sir N. Waite to be against the interests of the English Company.
3. He was appointed broker by the New United Company also.

J. H. Grose thus wrote about Rustam Manock’s son Nowrojee

(c) *J. H. Grose
(1750) on Rustam
Manock’s son
Nowroji.*

“ Nowrojee Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by

¹²² *Ibid* III, p. CV.

the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerdes,¹²³ a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas,¹²⁴ was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was, when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassioned their distress and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them." 124a.

Rustom Manock is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron, more than once. He, on the authority of Dastur Darab (d) *Anquetil Du Perron* (1761) of Surat, refers to the visit of Rustam Manock's son Nowroji to England. He speaks of that visit on *Rustam Manock*. having occurred about 40 or 50¹²⁵ years before him. When there, Nowroji was shown an old Ms. of the Zend Yazashna Sade in the Bodleian Library, but he could not read it (le Manuscrit Zend que Norouz dji, fils de Roustoum Manek, vit il y a quarante à cinquante ans en Angleterre, et qu'il ne put lire, à ce que m'a dit le Destour Darab)¹²⁶. Nowroji was not initiated as a priest. He is spoken of as *osta*. So not being taught the Avesta alphabet, we can understand, why he could not read it. Had he been initiated like his father Rustam he could have read the Ms¹²⁷.

¹²³ Yazdagard. ¹²⁴ Khosro, the son of Hormazd.

^{124a} J. H. Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, ed. of 1772, p. 124. The 1st ed. was published in 1766.

¹²⁵ The year of Nowroji's visit of England was 1724 A.C.

¹²⁶ Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie 2, Notices, &c., p. IX. *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Dorab, p. 7. (Parsi Prakash I, p. 29).

¹²⁷ According to Anquetil, there were two copies of the Yazashna at Oxford. One was showed to Rustam Manock's son Nowroji, as said above. The other was carried to England by Mr. Frazer, who had purchased it, together with a Rivāyat for Rs. 500 from Manockji Nowroji Seth, the grand-son of Rustam Manock. (Le second exemplaire de l'Izeschné conservé à Oxford, a été écrit à Surate, l' an 1105 d'Iezdedjerd, de J.C. 1735 et apporté en Angleterre par M. Frazer, qui, au rapport de Darab, l' avoit acheté avec un *Ravayet*, cinq cent Roupies (douze cent livres) de Maneckdjiset, petit-fils de Roustoum; lequel (Maneckdjiset) le tenoit du Destour Bikh" (Zend-avesta, Tome I, Partie II, p. IX). This Manockji Seth lived from 1688 to 1748 (*Vide* *Parsce Prakash I*; p. 36). *Vide* my Anquetil and Dastur Darab, p. 7. *Vide Ibid* for Dastur Bikh. Genealogical Table, p. 276.

Anquetil refers also to Rustam's garden of flowers at Surat ^{128a}.

The Qusseh has a special section for his family, headed در اولاد
His Family, رستم گوید *i.e.*, said (in the matter) of Rustam's
 c. 299 *seq.* heirs. It says that Rustam had three sons,
 Framarz, Bahman and Naoruz. The author adds that Nowroji was
 his pupil (hāvisht). Rustam's wife was named Ratan-banoo
 (Ratanbāi). He says: "God has given him a pious wife and
 that beautiful lady is named Ratan-bānu" (c. 309).

Rustam died at the ripe old age of 86 on 30th July 1721.¹²⁸
 The Bombay Seth Khāndān family came into prominence,
 since the foundation of a Trust of Religious charities by Manockji
 Nowroji ¹²⁹, the grandson of Rustam Manock, and the son of Rus-
 tam Manock's third son Nowrojee, who is mentioned in the Qisseh
 by the author as his pupil, and who had gone to England to seek
 redress at the hands of the Directors of the East India Company.
 I have given above (p. 1) the genealogy of the line coming down to
 Mr. Kavasji Seth, the present Mutwali (مٹولی), *i.e.*, the
 administrator of the Trust and Charities, the 8th in direct descent
 from Rustam Manock.

^{128a} *Ibid*, p. 311

¹²⁸ Parsee Prakash I p. 23.

¹²⁹ This Manockjee Nowrojee Seth seems to have been a patron of Iranian literature. He got Mss. written by learned priests. (a) One of such Mss. has found its way in the Bodleian Library. I had the pleasure of seeing it, on 23rd August 1889, during my visit of the Bodleian in the company of the late Rev. Dr. Mills. It is a Ms. of the Vendidad Sadeh, written by Mobad Bhika bin Rustam in 1105 A.Y. (1736) A.C. for Manockjee Seth. The Colophon

بجسب فرموده شیت صاحب مهربان فیض رسان شیت :
 صاحب موبد مانکجی شیت نوشته شد

Vide Sachau and Etche's "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library" (1889). *Vide* its section D. Zoroastrian Literature (column 1106 Ms. 1936). *Vide* my Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, Appendix 2, p. 80. Another Ms. written by the same Dastur for Manockjee Seth has made its way in the India Office Library. It is a Ms. of the Yasna (*Ibid*) The same Dastur requested Manockji Seth to intervene in the matter of his dispute with the Naosari Priests (*Ibid*). *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab, pp. 7 and 79.

The Visit of Nowroji, the son of Rustam Manock, to England referred to in an old Record of the Parsee Panchayet.

The visit of Nowroji to England is thus referred to in an old Ms. record¹³⁰ of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay: “અશક્તી પંચાત મધે બેશ-નારા શાહેબ લોકો હતા, તેણાના નામની ઇઆદદારા મળી જે, તેહની વીગત. “શેઠ નવરોજી રૂશતમજ જે અંગ્રેજીની વેલાએત જઈ આવેઆ છે In this note, Naoroji is spoken of as one “who had gone to the Home (velāyet) of the English.

The Qisseh speaks of several events of his life which have historical importance. I will not speak of them here at any length, because I have to speak of them in separate sections. But I give below a list with dates of all the Events of his life including those referred to in his Qisseh:

The first East India Company known as the London			
East India Company, founded	A. C.	1600	
English Factory founded at Surat		1612	
Rustam Manock born		1635	
The first Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of			
which Rustam Manock relieved his people		1664	
Rustam Manock relieved the Parsees of Surat and some			
poor of other communities from the distress of Aurang-			
zeb's Jaziye, about		1672	
Rustam Manock went through the ceremony of Navar-			
hood (Samvant 1731) ¹³¹ at the age of 40		1675	
Date of the mention, in a Dutch book, of Rustam			
Manock's name as a broker of three Companies, one of			
which seems to be the Dutch		1681	
Rustam Manock, signing first an important communal			
document as the head of the priestly commu-			
nity 6th June		1685	
The new English East India Company, of which Rustam			
Manock was appointed broker, founded		1698	

^{130.} Ms. Bk. p. Vide my “History of the Parsi Panchayet” (પારસી પંચાયેતની તવારીખ).

^{131.} Vide the Firhest of the Navars at Naosari, which is now being published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, p. 36.

Date of the Inscription on a well at Hajira, near Surat, built for public use by Rustam Manock (Samvant 1755)	1699
Sir Nicholas Waite arrived at Surat as the head of the Factory of the New East India Company and appointed Rustam Manock its broker ..	19th January 1699 ¹⁸²
Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, arrived at Maslipatam	25th September 1699 ¹⁸³
Rustam Manock's Visit to the Court of Aurangzib with the English Ambassador	1710
Rustam Manock's Visit of Dandeh-i Rajpuri	1701
Rustam appointed "broker for the United Trade" ..	1704 ¹⁸⁴
Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to secure the release of Osman Chalibi's ship captured by the Portuguese	Date uncertain
Rustam Manock removed from Brokership by the Nawab and imprisoned at the instance of Waite|About	1705
Rustam Manock's death	30th July 1721
Rustam Manock's youngest son Nowroji sailed per ship Salisbury, for England, to seek redress from the United East India Company, and arrived in London	April 1723
The date of the 1st Document, viz. the letter from 17 Directors of the East India Company to "the President and Council of Bombay", directing that Framji and Bomanji, the sons of Rustam Manock, may be at once released from confinement ..	19th August 1723
Second Document, viz., the Award of four Arbitrators appointed by the E. I. Company in favour of the sons of Rustam Manock	18th January 1724
Third Document—The Award noted by the Lord Mayor and Alderman	February 1724
Fourth Document—A letter to Nowroji's two brothers in India, Framji and Bomanji, from Cha. Boonet,	

¹⁸² Bruce's *Annals of the Honorable East India Company* Vol. III (1910), p. 335. ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 344. ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

in London, speaking of Nowroji's work in	
London	25th March 1725
Nowroji died	on 13th April 1732 ¹⁸⁵

VII.

(C) The historical events, mentioned in the Qisseh.

We will now examine the historical events referred to in the Qisseh-i Rustam Manock. The Persian poem Qisseh-i Rustam Manock, refers to the following historical events of the time of Aurangzeb :— I. The *Jaziyeh* or Poll tax, imposed by Aurangzeb. II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat. III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory. IV. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of an English factor : (a) The visit itself. (b) The state of affairs after the visit and on the return of the Embassy of Sir William Norris. V. Rustam Manock's visit, during the return journey from the Mogul Court, of : — (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari. VI. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get Osmān Chalibi's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

I. THE JAZIYEH IMPOSED BY AURANGZEB.

The Qisseh says, that the Jaziyeh-tax imposed by Aurangzeb was felt heavily by the people, both the Parsees and the non-Parsees of Surat. The Parsees as a body applied to Rustam Manock to relieve them from the tax (*zulmāneh*). Rustam complied with their request. Then, some poor people of other communities also appealed to him individually for help and he paid the taxes due by them. I will speak of this subject under two heads :—

1. Aurangzeb. His belief, bigotry and other characteristics which induced him to impose the tax.
2. The tax itself. The date, and the rate of the imposition of the tax, etc.

¹⁸⁵ Jalbhoy Seth gives the year as 1733, (સિંહ બાનદાસની વંશીવલ્લી. p. 31) but the Parsee Prakash I., p. 29, gives it correctly as 1732. The Parsee date, given by both, is *roz 2 mah 7*, 1101 Yazdazardi. The Yazdazardi year 1101 corresponds to 1732 and not to 1733.

1. AURANGZEB. HIS BELIEF, BIGOTRY AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS.

Aurangzeb was born, on 24th October 1618, of Shah Jehan's wife Mumtaz Mahal, in the moving camp of Jahangir, at Dahod, in the Panch Mahal, when his parents were marching with the camp of his grandfather. He was, out of the four sons of Shah Jahan, the third son, and was a Sunni Mahomedan by faith. He took an active part in the fratricidal war about the right of succession during the very life time of Shah Jahan. He gained over to his side his brother Murad, telling him, that he did not want, on the throne, Dara, who was a free-thinker and Suhja who was a Shiah ; but that he liked to see on the throne a true good Mahomedan of the Sunni belief, and that, if he gained victory over his brothers, he would go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, with the help of his brother Murad, he defeated the other two brothers, and then, going to Agra, made his aged father Shah Jahan a prisoner. Though, at first, he pretended outwardly that he wanted Murad to be enthroned, in the end, he got himself enthroned, saying, that Murad was, at the very time of the enthronement, found to be drunk. He was proclaimed king in 1658 and ruled till 1707. Shah Jahan died in 1666, continuing as his son's prisoner at Agra for 8 years.

During Aurangzeb's reign, the Mahrathas had risen in power under Shivaji (1627-1683), known later on as " the Raja of the Mahrathas." At first, Shivaji pounced upon the territories of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and then attacked the camp of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb left Delhi in 1683 to go to fight with the Mahrathas and other powers, and though he died in 1707, he did not return to the capital again from fear, lest he may be imprisoned there by any one of his rebellious sons, just as he had imprisoned his father Shah Jahan there. With an army of about one lakh of men, he took Bijapore in 1686 and Golconda in 1687, in which year the Moghal power was at its zenith. He could not successfully suppress the power of the Mahrathas. He put Sambhaji to a cruel death and took his son Sahu a prisoner. All this further enraged the Marathas, who were skilled in hill warfare and who avoided pitched battles on the plains. Most of the Deccan fortresses on the hills of

the Deccan were the work of the Mahrathas during these stormy times when they thought it advantageous to fight a guerilla warfare. Aurangzeb had to retreat to Ahmednagar where he died in 1707 A.C. His last words are said to be : " I have committed many crimes, I know not with what punishment I may be visited."¹³⁶ Though in the middle of his reign, he had raised the power of the Moghal empire to its zenith, at the time of his death, when the Rajputs and Mahrathas were still strong, the decline had begun.

Aurangzeb had, in his boyhood, received all the orthodox education of his time. His religious training led him to puritanism, " which", as said by *His Religious Life.* Lane-Poole, " was at once his destruction and his ruin".¹³⁷ He received no broad liberal education.

His own sketch of what a prince's education must be, is very interesting, and had he been given that education, perhaps, his power, and after him, that of his heirs would have continued long." Even when he was, as it were, a boy-governor in the Deccan at the age of 17, he was their king, more of the future world than of the present one, and was taking a serious view of life, instead of a self-enjoying life of a prince. In 1643, when he was aged 24 he is said to have retired for some time as a *fakir* or monk into the jungles of the Western Ghauts. Even during his conquests of the Mahomedan Powers of the Deccan, he appeared, as said by Dr. Friar, " under colour of a Fakier".¹³⁸ In the matter of this *fakirship*', Lane Poole compares him to Emperor Charles V of Europe. But we find this difference : Charles became, as it were, a Christian *fakir* in his old age when he was much baffled and disappointed, but Aurangzeb became a Mahomedan *fakir* in the full bloom of youth and in the midst of all the attractions of a pleasant life open to princes. It is said that when during the appearance of a comet for four weeks in 1665, he, out of some thoughts of religious penance, " only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread " ¹³⁹ his father Shah Jahhan rebuked him for all this

¹³⁶ Sinclair's History of India, Chap. VI, Ed. of 1889, p. 80.

¹³⁷ Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 27.

¹³⁸ Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia (1698) p. 166, Letter IV, Chap. IV.

¹³⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 65.

austerity, but to no purpose. His brother, Dara Shikoh, who had gone to the other extreme and was taken to be an agnostic or an atheist, was led by Aurangzeb's austerities to speak of him as a "saint".^{139a}

Lane-Poole thus explains his austerities of his boyhood and his subsequent successes as an Emperor: "The truth seems to be that his temporary retirement from the world was the youthful impulse of a morbid nature excited by religious enthusiasm. The novelty of the experiment soon faded away. The fakir grew heartily tired of his retreat; and the young Prince returned to carry out his notions of asceticism in a sphere where they were more creditable to his self-denial and more operative upon the great world in which he was born to work. His ascetic mind was fitted to influence the course of an empire."¹⁴⁰ Lane-Poole, who compares his life to that of Cromwell in England, thus speaks of his puritanic life: "Aurangzeb was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life — neither throne nor love nor ease, weighed for an instance in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples, while he damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great empire as to bring the lands of the heretical Shi'a within the dominion of orthodox Islām. To him the Deccan was Dār-al-Harb: he determined to make it Dār-al-Islām. Religion induced Aurangzīb to abjure the pleasures of the senses as completely as if he had indeed become the fakir he had once desired to be. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water; so that, as Tavernier says, he became 'thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet, which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzīb only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died; for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him; and since that time he has never had perfect health.

^{139a} *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Following the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure to making skull-caps, which were doubtless bought up by the courtiers of Delhi with the same enthusiasm as was shown by the ladies of Moscow for Count Tolstoi's boots. He not only knew the Koran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts, richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medīna. Except the pilgrimage, which he dared not risk, lest he should come back to find an occupied throne, he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Even the English merchants of Sūrat, who had their own reasons for disliking the Emperor, could only tell Ovington that Aurangzeb was a 'zealous professor' of Islām, 'never neglecting the hours of devotion nor anything which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer'.¹⁴¹

His bigotry and dislike of the Hindu religion led to an insurrection by the Satnāmis, a sect of Hindu devotees.

His bigotry. They rebelled in thousands and their life of devotion led people to think that they were invulnerable and "swords, arrows and musket balls had no effect on these men."¹⁴² The spread of this belief about their power led others to join them and depressed Aurangzeb's army. It is said that, to counteract this influence, Aurangzeb resorted to holy charms from the Koran. He wrote them and attached them to the banners of his army. These charms serving as inspiring amulets encouraged his Mahomedans who in the end suppressed the revolt.¹⁴³

Aurangzeb had, as time advanced, become a religious bigot and the following, that we read of him, explains the event of the imposition of the Jaziyeh tax, which his great grandfather Akbar had abolished: "Had Aurangzeb followed the policy of Akbar . . . he might have consolidated his empire and reigned as the undisputed monarch of the whole of India . . . The dream of Aurangzeb's life, now that he was firmly planted on the throne, was the destruction of idolatry, and the establishment of Mahomedanism throughout the length and breadth of the land . . . Aurangzeb then began his religious persecutions. He

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 136.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 136-37.

degraded the Rajputs. All Hindus, employed under government, were compelled either to embrace the Muslim faith, or lose their appointments. Idols were overturned, pagodas destroyed, and mosques built with the materials. Even, in the holy city of Benares, the most sacred temples were levelled to the ground, mosques erected in their place, and the images used as steps for 'the faithful' to tread on. Hindus were not allowed to celebrate their festivals and Jaziya, a tax on infidels that had been abolished by Akbar, was revived. All the viceroys in the provinces had instructions to act in the same manner. No tax could possibly be more unpopular than this Jaziya, and the imposition of it led to the most fatal consequences to the empire."¹⁴⁴

He disliked wine, music and even poetry. (a) He stopped music, not only from his court, but also from his capital city. It is said, that, once, hundreds of musicians and singers, watching the time of his going to a mosque, carried a funeral procession with a number of biers raising cries of mourning. When Aurangzeb inquired what the matter was, they said to him that as he has prohibited *music*, they carried it to the burying ground for being buried. He coolly said that, they must take proper care, that it is buried deep so that it may not revive again. (b) His dislike of poets and poetry is surprizing. He said : "Poets deal in falsehoods."¹⁴⁵ That was in reference to their indulging in poetic fancies, which looked like going beyond the truth. The poets of the Moghal Courts of his predecessors really went beyond proper limits in their exaggerated praises of their royal and noble patrons ; and so, his remarks may perhaps apply to such poets.

(c) Again he stopped all chronicle-writing. We know that, Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jehan, all wrote, or got written, chronicles of the events of their reigns. But Aurangzeb discontinued this practice. All the historical accounts of his reign that have come down to us were written secretly by some persons without his knowledge or after his time. This also seems to have been the result

¹⁴⁴ David Sinolair's *History of India* (Edition of 1889), p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Stanley Lane-Poole's *Aurangzib*, p. 58.

of his puritanic views, that, in the life-time of the king, the writers were likely to flatter their royal masters.¹⁴⁶ (d) His dislike for wine was equally strong. As Stanley-Lane Poole suggests for his predecessors, even Akbar included, that "they abandoned themselves to voluptuous ease, to Wein, Weib und Gesang," the lines attributed by some to Luther, were, as it were, true for them:

Wer nicht liebt Wein Weib und Gesang

Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang.

i.e., "He who does not like wine, wife and song, remains a fool for the whole of his life." Many Persian poets sang in that tone.¹⁴⁷ But they were not right in Aurangzeb's view. Some writers, mostly Christian, doubt the sincerity of his bigotry and puritanism, but Dryden is an exception. In his play, entitled Aurangzebe, he expresses admiration for him.^{147a}

His bigotry led him in 1659 to give up the calendar of the ancient Persians, introduced by Akbar and observed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. When his son Muazzan once observed the Naoroz, he wrote a letter to him and reprimanded him. He wrote: "I came to know from the representation of a disinterested person that this year you observed the Nowroz festival in the manner of the (present) Persians. By God's grace, keep your faith firm. From whom have you adopted this heretical innovation? Anyhow this is a festivity of the Majusis Henceforward you should not observe it and repeat such folly."¹⁴⁸

Reading the accounts of his life from various sources, it appears, at times, that Aurangzeb's life presented contradictions. We admire, at times, the simplicity of his life, but are surprized on reading his letter to his son A'azar, that even at his old age, he was fond of good tasty

¹⁴⁶ Aurangzib by Stanley Lane-Poole (1908), p. 137. ^{146a} *Ibid*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁷ *Vide* my paper "Wine among the Ancient Persians", *Vide* my Asiatic Papers" Part III, pp. 231-46. ^{147a} Constable's selected publications, vol. III (1892), p. 121. In his view of Aurangzeb's life, he is said to have followed Bernier. In the words which he places in Aurangzeb's mouth. "When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat" (Act IV) he, as it were sums up his puritanism.

¹⁴⁸ Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe, translated by Jamshed H. Bilimoria (1908) pp. 5-6, Letter II.

food (khichadi and biryani, *ibid.*, p. 12, Letter 10). Though austere in life, he was greedy of money as appears from his letter (No. 60) to his above "Exalted son," wherein he says : "To refuse the presents brought by the nobles before you is a loss to the royal treasury. Though this time I forgive you for goodness' sake you should not do so in future."¹⁴⁹ We know that Manucci is unusually strict in his account of Aurangzib ; but, even accounting for his prejudiced exaggeration, we see, from his account, a number of contrarities which would not reflect credit on the life of an ascetic.

2. THE JAZIYEH. THE DATE AND THE RATE OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE TAX.

We learn from the Qisseh, that the Parsees of Surat complained bitterly about the hardships caused by the imposition of the *Jaziyeh* and requested Rustam Manock to relieve them from these hardships. Rustam Manock relieved them. He went to the great Diwan and paid him a large sum (ganj chandi, c. 120) as a lump sum for all the Parsis. He further arranged to pay every year according to the number (mar ^{مر}) of his people. On knowing this, the poor of other communities also asked his help. In this case, he did not take the responsibility of paying for a whole large community, but paid taxes for poor individuals. The *Qisseh* presents a Parsee view of the hardships of the tax.

The *Jaziyeh*, pronounced in more than one way, is, according to Wilson¹⁵⁰, "a capitation tax authorized by the Mohammadan law of conquest to be imposed on all subjects not of the Mohammadan religion." Prof. Sarkar¹⁵¹ says : "For permission to live in an Islamic State the unbeliever had to pay a tax called *Jaziya* which means 'substitute money,' i. e., the price of indulgence. It was first imposed by Muhammad, who bade his followers 'fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *Jaziya* with the hand in humility (Quran IX. 29). The last two words of this command have been taken by the Muslim commentators to mean, that the tax should be

¹⁴⁹ Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri by J. H. Bilimoria (1908), p. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 236, col. 2.

¹⁵¹ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. III, pp. 305-6.

levied in a manner humiliating to the tax-payers. As the scholars and divines of the time informed Aurangzeb, the books on Muslim Canon Law lay down that the proper method of collecting the *jaziye* is for the *zimmi*¹⁵² to pay the tax personally; if he sends the money by the hand of an agent it is to be refused; the taxed person must come on foot and make payment standing, while the receiver should be seated and after placing his hand above that of the *zimmi* should take the money and cry out 'o *zimmi*! pay the commutation money.' Such being the case, the very fact of saving the people, even those who could afford to pay a tax of that kind, from the compulsory appearance and humiliation before the tax-gatherer was a righteous act. All, the rich and the poor, were saved from the possible humility of personally going to the tax-gatherer and passing through all the rituality of payment.

The early Mahomedan rulers of India levied this tax from all except the Brahmans, who, as a religious class, were exempted from the beginning by the first Mahomedan invader Muhammad Ghorī (A.C. 1175-76). Firuz Shah (A. C. 1351 to 1388) taxed the Brahmans also. Akbar abolished the tax (1579 A. C.). But Aurangzeb re-imposed it "in order, as the Court historian records, to 'spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity'¹⁵³. On learning of the imposition of this tax, the Hindus of Delhi mustered in force below the balcony of the royal palace on the bank of the Jumna and requested the removal of the tax, but their request was not accepted. Then, one Friday, when Aurangzeb was going to the Jamma Masjid, the Hindus mustered strong on the way and repeated the request. When they did not disperse, though asked to do so, Aurangzeb moved elephants in his front to clear his way. Some people were trampled to death in this attempt. Several writers refers to the severity of the *jaziye*h.

Robert Orme says: "In order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout his

(a) Robert Orme on the *Jaziye*h. ¹⁵² ذمی "Zimmi, one tolerated by the Muhammadan law on paying an annual tax." (Steingass, p. 559). ¹⁵³ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 308.

empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword..... The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field and industry the loom ; until the decrease of the revenue drew representations from the governors of the provinces ; which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude.”¹⁵⁴.

As to the classes of the *zimmi*, Prof. Sarkar says : “ The impost was not proportioned to a man’s actual income, but the assessecs were roughly divided into three classes, according as their property was estimated at not more than 200 *dirhams* (‘ the poor ’), between 200 and ten thousand *dirhams* (the middle class) and above ten thousand (‘ the rich ’). Money-changers, cloth-dealers, landowners, merchants and physicians were placed in the highest class, while artisans, such as tailors, dyers, cobblers and shoe-makers were counted as ‘ poor.’ This last class paid only when their professional income left a margin above the cost of maintaining themselves and their families.”¹⁵⁵ It is quite natural, that the question, whether sufficient margin was left to the poor to maintain themselves, being a difficult one to determine a hard tax-master would spread great hardship among the poor. The Parsees of Surat at the time were mostly weavers. It seems that, it was this class of the poor from among the non-Parsees that may have been released by Rustam Manock.¹⁵⁶”

Even Shivaji protested, politely but strongly, in a letter to (b) *Shivaji’s Letter, protesting against t h e Jaziyeh.* Aurangzeb, but to no effect. The letter is long, but very interesting from several points of view. So, I give here some important parts of it from the

¹⁵⁴ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 73-74.

¹⁵⁵ Sarkar’s Aurangzeb III (1916), p 306.

¹⁵⁶ It may be mentioned that, to release, from small petty debts, the poor who have been sent to prison for debts unavoidably incurred, was considered, up to the last century, an act of great righteousness. The first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., is said to have done so in many cases;

text as given by Professor Sarkar : ¹⁵⁷. " This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor—which are clearer than the Sun,—begs to inform Your Majesty that, although this well-wisher was led by his adverse Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave,¹⁵⁸ yet he is ever ready to perform, to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty ! That architect of the fabric of empire (Jalaluddin), Akbar Padshah, reigned with full power for 52 (lunar) years. He adopted the admirable policy of perfect harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers¹⁵⁹, sky-worshippers (*falakia*)¹⁶⁰, *malakias*,¹⁶¹ materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*), Brahman and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all people. So he became famous under the title of " the World's Spiritual Guide (Jagat Guru)," then Shivaji relates how Jahangir and Shah Jahan loyally followed Akbar, and adds: " They, too, had the power of levying the *jaziya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God, to be (living) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their

¹⁵⁷ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 325. ¹⁵⁸ This is a reference to Sivaji's flight from Delhi in a basket of fruits.

¹⁵⁹ They were known as Dādu panthis (دادو پنتھی). A Dādu panthi is " a follower of the religious sect of Dādu, a cotton cleaner of Ahmedabad, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who endeavoured to establish a sort of monotheistical worship." (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 117, col. 1).

¹⁶⁰ Shivaji seems to refer to the Parsees under this name. According to Steingass, *filk* (فلق) means " a fire-worshipper ". If we read the word فلقي as *falaq* heaven, then *falakia* would mean heaven or sun-worshippers. In that sense also the word would apply to Parsees.

¹⁶¹ The Sect of the Malakites.

kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety (in their reigns) and their undertakings were achieved. But in Your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain; the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled; most men lack bread at night How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jaziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that, the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jaziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, yogis, sannayasis, bairagis, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken,—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars,—that he dashes down (to the ground) the name and honour of the Timurids! May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (*i.e.*, the Quran), you will find there (that God is styled) Rabb-ul-alamin, the Lord of all men, and not Rabb-ul-musalmin, the Lord of the Muhamadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are antithetical terms. They are (diverse pigments) used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines (of His picture of the entire human species). If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is (really) altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw (new) lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter. . . . In strict justice the *jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the point of view of administration it can be right only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or molestation. (But) in these days even the cities are being plundered, what of the open country? Not to speak of

its injustice, this imposition of the *jaziya* is an innovation in India, and inexpedient. If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy *jaziya* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."¹⁶²

This Jaziya tax, with other acts of indignity, had embittered the Rajputs, who, at first, were on the side of the Moghal Emperor. Stanley Lane Poole says on this subject: "But for his tax upon heresy, and his interference with their inborn sense of dignity and honour, Aurangzib might have still kept the Rajputs by his side as priceless allies in the long struggle in which he was now to engage in the Deccan."¹⁶³ It was the unpopularity of this Jaziyeh that led to the popularity of the Mahrathas who were fighting against him. "The religious bigotry only inflamed his own puritanical zeal, and he was imprudent enough to insist on the strict levying of his poll-tax on Hindus—which had considerably helped the popularity of the Marathas in the very country where it was most important to lay aside Muhammadan prejudices. His first step on arriving in the Deccan was to issue stringent orders for the collection of the hated *Jazrya*. The people and their headmen resisted and rioted in vain. A tried officer was detached with a force of horse and foot to exact the poll-tax and punish the recusants. It is significant that in three months this sagacious officer reported that he had collected the poll-tax of Burhanpūr for the past year (Rs. 26,000) and begged the Emperor to appoint some one else to carry on the unpleasant business (Khafi Khan, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, pp. 310, 311)¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶² Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 324-29.

¹⁶³ S. Lane Poole's *Aurangzib* (1908), p. 142.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175. The poll tax officer was called "Amin-i-Jizya."

Dr. John Fryer, who had landed in India in 1672 and had gone to Surat after visiting various places, gives a brief account of the Parsees at Surat. ¹⁶⁵ He says therein, that the Parsees, when he first landed in India abstained from eating flesh following the Hindus usage, but that when the Moslems came they took to flesh-eating. So, when Aurangzeb imposed poll-tax upon non-Moslems, they expected that, as they did not follow Hindu customs, they would be exempted, but that was not the case. He says: "On this side the Water ¹⁶⁶ are People of another Offspring than those we have yet mentioned; these be called Parseys, who were made free Denizens by the Indians before the Moors ¹⁶⁷ were Masters and have continued to Inhabit where they first set Footing, not being known above Forty Miles along the Sea-coast, nor above Twenty mile Inland.....where they complying with some Propositions, as not to Kill any Beasts or living Creatures, and Conform to many of the *Gentue* ¹⁶⁸ Ceremonies were Entertained and allowed to live among them. Since the Moors have Subdued the Country, they think themselves not obliged by the former Capitulation, they Feeding on both Fish and Flesh; and for that reason were in hopes of exemption from the present Poll, pretending their Law agreeable to the Moors, but they would not free them from the Tax. These drink Wine, and are of the Race of the Ancient Persians."

We learn from the *Ahkam-i Alamgiri* (No.72) ¹⁶⁹ that Aurangzeb was inexorable in the matter of levying the Jaziye. Once, Firuz Jang, suggested that, in order to increase the population of a certain place on the banks of the river Bhima, which supplied provisions for the imperial camp, "the poll-tax (Jaziya) on the Hindu residents of the place "may be abolished" . . . "The Emperor wrote: I do not accept the helpers from

¹⁶⁵ New Account of East India and Persia in Eight letters, being nine years' Travels; begun 1671 and finished 1681 (1698), p. 117.

¹⁶⁶ i.e., the river Tapti.

¹⁶⁷ i.e., the Mahomedans.

¹⁶⁸ i.e., the Hindus.

¹⁶⁹ Anecdotes of Aurangzib by J. Sarkar, 2nd ed. of 1925, p. 132.

among the infidels. Your wish for the colonising of the grain market at the tomb, and your upsetting the command contained in the text-book of the holy Quran concerning Jaziya, which is ('Chastise them till they pay Jaziya from the hand because they are humbled'), by substituting for it the words 'they deserve to be excused,' are a thousand stages remote from the perfect wisdom and obedience to the august Religious Laws which are possessed by this trusted servant aware of my sentiments." ¹⁷⁰.

The Venitian traveller Niccolao Manucci was a very harsh critic of Aurangzib's reign. But, what he (d) *Niccolao Manucci on Aurangzib's inexorableness about this tax.* says about Aurangzib's inexorableness about the imposition of this tax is supported by other authorities.¹⁷¹ He says that the tax was imposed in 1678-1679, in spite of the opposition of "all the high-placed and important men at the Court. . . . The King stood firm, still more so because it was his purpose to spread the Mahomedan religion among those people (the Hindus). He was of the opinion that he had found in this tax an excellent means of succeeding in converting them, besides thereby replenishing his treasuries greatly."¹⁷² He said to his nobles who opposed: "All my thoughts are turned towards the welfare and the development of my kingdom and towards the propagation of the religion of the great Muhammad."¹⁷³ Manucci says that, at last, his eldest sister Begam Sahib, entreated him to keep away from the tax, but to no purpose. She represented Hindustan to be a vast ocean and the king and the royal family as ships in it and said: "If the ships and the sailors must always try to render the seas favourable and pacific towards them in order to navigate with success and arrive happily at port; in the same way your Majesty ought to appease and soften the ocean of your subjects." With these words "she attempted to throw herself at his feet." But he disregarded her

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33. According to Sarkar, Khafi Khan, II, 279, 378, Akhbarat year 38 sheet 232 speaks of Aurangzib's strictness for the Jaziyeh *Vide Elphinstone's History of India* for his severity in the matter of the Jaziyeh (Vol. II, p. 495.)

¹⁷¹ *Storia Do Magor or Mogul India*, translated by William Irvine, (1907), Vol. III, pp. 288-91. ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9. ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

entreaties and coolly said: "Madam, forget not that when Muhammad entered the world it was entirely drowned in the idolatry of the unbeliever, but no sooner had that incomparable prophet reached the age of discretion then he busied himself with all his strength in freeing the peoples from so dangerous a condition by establishing among them his holy doctrines. Of what methods, I beg you to say, did he make use to gain such a purpose? Was it not by that taxation?" Manucci says that shortly after, there occurred a violent earthquake and the nobles, attributing it to the wrath of God, asked Aurangzib to reconsider the matter. But he coolly replied: "It is true that the earth lately trembled, but it is the result of the joy it felt at the course I am adopting." ¹⁷⁴ Then Manucci adds that, for every 25 thousand rupees that he got by this tax, the tax gatherer "must have at the least recovered one hundred thousand." ¹⁷⁵

Manucci speaks thus about the severity of the tax. "Hindu traders living in this empire are forced to pay every year in advance a personal tax, as I have once before stated (II. 182; III. 51; IV. 28). In return, they are given a receipt to serve as a passport; but when they travel to another kingdom or province of this empire the said passport is of no value. On their outward and their return journey the same amount is collected. In this way the merchants suffer from the great impositions, and thus many of them and of the bankers are ruined. Aurangzib rejoices over these failures, in the belief that by such extortion these Hindus will be forced into embracing the Mahomedan faith."

Col. Tod, in his *Rajasthan*, thought that this tax was one of the causes of the overthrow of the Mogul power. He says: "To the *jezeyya* and the unwise pertinacity with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam." ¹⁷⁶ Tod says that

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 291. ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*. ¹⁷⁶ *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, by Lt.-Col. James Tod. 1st ed, I. p. 396. Third Reprint (1880), p. 338.

even the Rajpūt Rānā protested: The Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition. ^{176a}.

We find from the letters sent by the English Factors here to England in 1669, that, in April 1669 Aurangzib had issued orders "for the destruction of infidel temples and the suppression of infidel teachings."¹⁷⁷ A letter from Surat, dated 26th November 1669, says: "You have been formerly advised what unsufferable tyranny the Bannias endured in Surat by the force exercised by these lordly Moors on account of their religion; the sweetness of which the Cozzy (Kazi) and other officers finding, by the large incomes paid by the Bannians to redeeme their places of idolatrous worship from being defaced and their persons from their malice, did prosecute their covetous avengers with that frequency and furious zeale that the general body of the Bannias began to groan under their affliction and to take up resolves of flying the country. A nephew of your antient Sheroff Tulcidas Parrack was among others inveigled and turned Moor, which was a great heart-breaking to your Bannianservants and some dishonour to your house."¹⁷⁸ We read further: "Ever since the flight of the Bannians the trade of Surat hath suffered great obstruction; and 'tis the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatal consequence, to the utter ruin of it in case the King (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) doth not take some effectual healing order for the making of this breach. For most of the sheroffs and moneyed men doe think of calling (in ?) their stocks and (according to the custome of this country) burying the greatest part underground; so the bulke of trade, which is maintained and carreyed on chiefly on credit, must necessarily fail."¹⁷⁹

^{176a} *Ibid*, 1st ed. I. pp. 379-80. ¹⁷⁷ The English Factories in India 1668-69, by Sir Forest, p. 190. ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 190-91. ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 197.

*The Date of
the Imposition
of the Jaziyeh.*

(a) Prof. Sarkar gives the date of the imposition of the Jaziyeh tax as 2nd April 1679¹⁸⁰. (b) Dr. Fryer, in his third letter, "dated Bombaim 1675 Sept. 22"¹⁸¹ says: "Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (the heathens) all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins making them pay a Gold Rupee an Head and the inferior Tribes proportionable; which has made some Rajaahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal Countries, and Bombaim". Thus, according to Fryer it was imposed before 1675. (c) According to Elphinstone, it was imposed some time after the insurrection of the Satnarinis, a sect of Hindu devotees at Narnol. He says: "These disturbances had irritated his temper. . . . and led him. . . . to take the last step in a long course of bigotry and impolicy by reviving the Jeziā or capitation tax on Hindus."¹⁸² Now, this revolt of this sect of devotees was in 1676.¹⁸³ So, according to Elphinstone, this tax was imposed after 1676. The people objected but when Aurangzib resorted to harsh treatment "the tax was submitted to without further demur," in 1677.¹⁸⁴ (d) Stanley Lane-Poole does not give a certain date but says that it was "in or about 1675."¹⁸⁵ (e) Grant Duff says, that Aurangzib imposed the Jaziyeh, when he was in Burhanpur.¹⁸⁶ He says: "During his stay at the former city (Burhanpur), amongst other arrangements he issued orders for the collection of the Jizeea, a poll-tax levied on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, which was to be as strictly exacted in the Deccan as in the northern part of the empire".¹⁸⁷ He had gone to Burhanpur in 1683.¹⁸⁸ So this means that the tax was imposed before 1683. (f) Robert Orme, gives the date as 1679.¹⁸⁹ (g) Manucci says that "it was during the

¹⁸⁰ J. Sarkar's (a) Aurangzib, III, p. 308; (b) Studies in Mogul India (1919), p. 44; (c) Ahkām-i. Aurangzib (1912), p. 12.

¹⁸¹ Dr. John Fryer's "New Account of East India and Persia, begun 1672 and finished 1681" published in 1698, p. 144.

¹⁸² Elphinstone's History of India (1841), Vol. II, p. 490. ¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 489.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 494. Elphinstone gives this date (1677) in his list of contents, Vol. II, p. XXVI. ¹⁸⁵ Stanley L. Aurangzib (1908), p. 125.

¹⁸⁶ History of the Mahrathas, Ed. revised by S. M. Edwardas (1921) Vol. I, p. 252. ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 252. ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 246.

¹⁸⁹ Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire (1805), p. 74.

years 1678 and 1679 that Aurangzeb decided to impose a new tribute upon all Hindūs.”¹⁹⁰ In another place, he says: “The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzeb as an opening to oppress the Hindūs still more, since they had no longer any valiant and powerful rajah who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindūs a poll-tax, which everyone was forced to pay, some more, some less.”¹⁹¹ Now Jaswant Singh died in about 1678. So, we may take it, that the tax was levied in 1678 or 1679 (h) According to the Muntakhabu-l-Lubab, the tax was imposed in the Hijri year 1082, i.e., about 1672, for suppressing the power of the infidels.¹⁹² (i) The Ma-āsir-i Alamgiri gives the date as 1090 Hijri, i.e. 1680 A.C.¹⁹³ (j) Shivaji had written a long letter to Aurangzeb against the imposition of the Jaziya.¹⁹⁴ In that letter, he says: “But in your Majesty’s reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession and the rest will do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them”¹⁹⁵ Shivaji had captured, in all, 191 forts and had himself built 126 forts.¹⁹⁶ Shivaji refers in this letter, to his visit of, and captivity in, and flight from, Aurangzeb’s Court in 1666. So, when he speaks of his capture of the forts, he speaks of re-conquests. The re-conquest of many took place in 1667-1669.¹⁹⁷ The re-conquest of Sinhadghad, Purandhar and Mahuli took place between 1670 and 1672.¹⁹⁸ So, the letter seems to have been written after the conquest of these forts which ended in about 1672. Thus, we take it that, according to Shivaji, the date of the jaziyyeh was some time before 1672.

¹⁹⁰ Storia Do Mogor, edited by W. Irvine, III, p. 288.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, II, pp. 233-34.

¹⁹² برای مغلوب ساختن کفار The Muntakhab Al Lubab of Khafi Khan, edited by Maulavi Kabir Al Din Ahmed, Part II (1874), p. 255 Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296.

¹⁹³ Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296, n. 1. According to Irvine Ma’asir’s date, 1st Rabi I 1090 H. corresponds to April 12, 1679. (Storia Do Mogor of Manucci by Irvine, Vol. III, p. 288, n. 2.)

¹⁹⁴ Vide Sarkar’s Aurangzib, Vol. III, p. 325q. ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 327.

¹⁹⁶ For a list of these forts, vide “The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, by Jagannath Lakhshman Markar (1886), pp. 103-107. ¹⁹⁷ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, by Prof. Takakhav (1921), pp. 298-312. ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 313 *et seq*.

Thus, we gather the following different dates from the different authors :—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri | .. .. . | April 1679 |
| 2. Muntakhab-ul Lubab of Khafi Khan | .. .. . | 1672 |
| 3. Robert Orme | .. .. . | 1679 |
| 4. Manucci | .. .. . | 1678-1679 |
| 5. Fryer | .. .. . | before 1675 |
| 6. Grant Duff | .. .. . | before 1683 |
| 7. Elphinstone | .. .. . | 1676-77 |
| 8. Stanley Lane-Poole | .. .. . | about 1675 |
| 9. Sarkar | .. .. . | 2nd April 1679 |
| 10. Shivaji | .. .. . | In or before 1672 |

I think, we may attach much importance to Dr. Fryer's statement, written on 22nd September 1675 (in his third letter from India), saying, that Aurangzib had already laid the poll tax at the time, he wrote. So, we may take it that it was imposed some time before September 1675. Stanley Lane-Poole also gives "in or about 1675".¹⁹⁹ Khafi Khan gives 1672. So, we may take it that it was imposed before 1675 and that it may be in 1672.

This jaziye tax brought a large revenue to Aurangzib. "It is recorded that the city of Burhanpur alone paid 26,000 rupees on account of this tax, and the total for all Hindustan must have been enormous."¹⁹⁹

Rate of the Tax.

It fell heavily upon the poor. Authorities differ somewhat in the matter of the rate. Scott says that it was "thirteen rupees per annum for every 2,000 rupees worth of property possessed by Hindoos."²⁰⁰ Prof. Sarkar says: "The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year for the three classes respectively,—or Rs. 3½, Rs. 6½ and Rs. 13½. On the poor, therefore, the incidence of the tax was 6 per cent. of the gross income; on the middle class it ranged from 6 to ¼ p.c., and on the rich it was always lighter even than 2½ per thousand. In violation of modern canons of taxation, the *Jaziya* hit the poorest portion of the

¹⁹⁹ Aurangzib and the Decay of the Moghal Empire by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 125.

²⁰⁰ Scott's Deccan quoted in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrathas revised by S. M. Edwards (1921), Vol. I, p. 252.

population hardest. It could never be less than Rs. 3½ on a man which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price of the end of the 16th century (Ain I 63). The State, therefore, at the lowest incidence of the tax, annually took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence. Secondly, all government officials were exempted from the tax, though they were the wealthiest members of their respective classes in Society.²⁰¹

Dr. Fryer thus speaks of the rate : " Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (Cophers, unbelievers) all over to his Faith and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins (Brahmins), making them pay a Gold Rupee (*i.e.* a Mohor) an head, and the inferior Tribes proportionable, which has made some Rajahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal countries and to Bombaim. ²⁰²

Manucci gives the rate as varying from Rs. 3½ on the poor to Rs. 13½ on merchants.²⁰³ Manucci says : " Great merchants paid thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not to women ; boys began to pay as soon as they passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzeib did this for two reasons : first because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns. Secondly, to force the Hindūs to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors."²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 307.

²⁰² *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Letter III, Chap. III, p. 107.

²⁰³ A recent writer Mr. Syed Hashimi (Faridabadi), in his article, " The Real Alamgir " (*Islamic Culture*, of October 1928, p. 627) gives the rate which approaches that of Manucci. He says : " It was levied on non-military, well-to-do male adults only, who had an income of at least 200 dirhams a year, which, at the lowest estimate, should be computed in its purchasing value as the equivalent of about 500 rupees in the terms of the present-day currency. On this income 3½ rupees per annum were charged, while the maximum estimate of the tax was about Rs. 14 per annum levied on an income of more than 10,000 Dirhams a year."

²⁰⁴ *Storia Do Mogor*, edited by Irvine, Vol. II, p. 234.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went personally to the Divan and settled arrangements to pay the Jaziyeh annually (cc. 120-22). But, when some poor people of other communities individually appealed to him for help, he asked his Naib, *i.e.*, assistant, Noshirwan, to pay the Jaziyeh, for the poor from his money (c. 150). Now as the author does not give the full name of Noshirwan, it is difficult to identify him. One Nusserwanji is referred to, later on, in the Qisseh, in the account of Rustam Manock's visit of Naosari on his return from the Mogul Court, where he had gone with the English ambassador. He is there spoken of as a relative in whose house Rustam lodged as a guest (c. 406). It is possible that both these persons may be one and the same person. We will speak of this Noshirwan, later on, in our account of the visit to Naosari. But, if these two Noshirwans are different, it is difficult to identify this Noshirwan.²⁰⁵

*The Sad-dar
on the Jaziyeh,
cc. 162-65.*

The Qisseh refers to the views of the Sad-dar Nazm on the subject of the Jaziyeh. It says that, according to the Sad-dar, a person who relieves another from the oppression (zulm) of the Jaziyeh is well rewarded for this act. God gives him a place in the Heaven. His soul is respected in the presence of Zarthosht. The Sad-dar Nazm (*i.e.*, the Book of 100 Chapters in verse) was written in 1495 A.C. by Irānshah bin Malek Shāh. It is possible that it was based on the Sad-dar Nasr (the Sad-dar in prose), which was written by three persons, Medyomah, Vardosht and Siāvakhsh, some time after the Arab Conquest.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ One may be tempted to say that if he was Rustam's relative, he may be his grandson Noshirwan, the son of Bahmanji: But the dates make this supposition impossible. I am thankful to Mr. Sohrab P. Davar for kindly drawing my attention to the inconsistency of dates in his letter of 29th August 1928. So, we must take it that, either he was the same Nusserwanji as the one mentioned later on, or some other person.

²⁰⁶ For a detailed account of the Sad-dar, *vide* (a) West S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXIX; (b) Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Band II, p. 123; (c) Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundeesh by Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar; (d) Dr. Hyde has given a translation in Latin of the Sad-dar Nasr in his "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum," under the heading of Magorum Liber Sad-dar (2nd ed. of 1760, pp. 443-512); (e) The Sad-dar Bahr-i-tavil (*i.e.*, the Sad-dar in long meters), which has been translated into Gujarati by Dastur Jamaspiji Minochehrji Jamaspasana.

We find the following references to the Jaziye in the Sad-dar Nazm's 66th Chapter, which asks one to remain steadfast in his belief on the Mazdayasnān religion.²⁰⁷

(a) ز بهر زر جزیه گر نیز کس
 فرومانده باشد ایا خوش نفس
 ندارد که آن جزیه بدهد بدان
 بخواهد شد از دست پیش بدان
 اگر یاریش اندر آنجا دبی
 هران جزیه اش را تو نفها دبی
 چنان دان که کردی زکشتن خلاص
 درکار گشتی تو بر دین خاص
 بمینوش پاداش مژد و ثواب
 بیایی ازین دین به بی حساب²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ The first line of the chapter thus speaks of its contents :

در شصت و شش آنکه ما دین به که آن مزدیشان بود از فر
 I am thankful to Mr. Romanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar for helping me to trace the reference.

²⁰⁸ (Saddar Chap. 66 ll. 14-18) Manuscript of the Sad-dar Nazm in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. *Vide* for this Ms. the Catalogue of the Institute by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar (1923), p. 149, No. R. 61. The colophon at the end, gives the date of the Ms. as *roz Ābān, Māh Asfandārmad*, year 1103 A. Y. (*i.e.*, 1734 A. C.). It was written in Surat in the country (*balād*) of Gujarat in Hind by Mobad of Broach, Herbad Kāusji, son of Padamji, son of Dastur Kāmdin, son of Dastur Faridun, son of Dastur Padam, son of Ostā Rām, son of Herbad Kahānān (کها نان) son of Mobad Shehyār (شم یار) son of Mobad Nahāryār (نهار یار). This scribe Kausji was the son of Dastur Padamji Kāmdinji, referred to in a document of 1st August 1716 A. C. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 849.)

Another old copy of the sad-dar gives us following variants in the above verse, *e.g.*, c. (couplet) 1, l. 1 has *هم از بهر* c. 2, l. 2 has *دیش بدان* instead of *پیش بدان*, *Vide* the Ms. VII, 19 (Brelvi's Catalogue p. XXXI). This Ms. has no colophon. The chronogram gives 14th of Mohram 900 as the date. (The chronogram *شتر* (300+400+200=900) gives the Mahomedan year of the original composition, which, according to West (S. B. E. Vol. 24 Introd. p. 37), comes to 14th October 1495 A.C.)

(b) زر جزیره را گر ستاند کس
 بخرچ عیالان خود کرد و بس
 چنان دانم خورده بود او نسا
 بتر زین نباشد در دین ما
 باید ازین زر ²¹⁰ حد گرفت
 که این زر ²¹¹ و بالیست در گرفت
 بهر جا که این زر شود خرچ آن
 نماند دران ²¹² خاندان تخم دان
 شود نیستی اندر آنجا پدید
²¹³ بگهی شده دودمان ناپدید ²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Az dast raftan or shudan, to be lost. cf. હાથથી જતું રહેવું.

²¹⁰ **حذ** hazz, cutting up by the roots, a breaking off (Steingass).

²¹¹ وبال wabāl, crime, sin, fault" (*Ibid*).

²¹² The word is **خاندان** *khāndān*, in the Ms. which I have followed,

but the first letter τ is miswritten for $\dot{\tau}$

²¹³ ك diminishing. The word may be read as كاهي gahi, i.e. in a (short) time, from gāh, time.

²¹⁴ Ch. 66 11.24-28, Mulla Feroze Library Ms. op cit.

*215 **Ayāl**, wife and children.

thing). There is nothing worse than this in our religion. You must break away from (*i.e.*, avoid) this money, because this money is a crime on your neck. In whatever place (or way) this money is spent, know, that there will remain no progeny (or stock) in that family. Annihilation will prevail in that place and the family will disappear by diminution.

The reason, why the Sad-dar,²¹⁶ written in Persia, refers to the Jaziyeh, is that Jaziyeh was a tax imposed after the Arab conquest upon the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia had to pay the tax upto the year 1882, when, after constant representations, it was cancelled.²¹⁷

*The Jaziyeh
in Persia.*

VIII

II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat.

The second important subject referred to by the Qisseh is that of the Sack of Surat by Shivaji. The account of Shivaji's Sack of Surat as given in the Kisseh is briefly as follows :

*The Account
of the Kisseh
about Shivaji's
Sack of Surat.*

²¹⁶ There are several sad-dars, all mostly treating of the same subject, but one is in prose, another in verse and the third in verse of the meter called *behr-i tavil*. They all were written in the 14th or 15th century. The Sad-dar Nazm (in verse) was written in 864 A. Y. (1495 A. C.), but the prose Saddar was written long before this. For another Ms. of the Sad-dar Nazm in the Mulla Feroze Library, *vide* the Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic-Persian Mss. by Mr. S. A. Brelvi (1917), p. XXXI.

²¹⁷ Mr. Romanji Behramji Patel, in his *Parsee Prakash*, Vol. I (pp. 654-66) gives a very interesting account of the work of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration fund founded in Bombay on 11th January 1855. One of the objects of that fund was to relieve the Zoroastrians of Persia from the burden of the Jaziyeh tax. The late Mr. Manockji Hatara, the agent in Persia of the above fund, had been to the Zoroastrians of Persia, what Rustam Manock was to the Zoroastrians of Surat. We find a succinct account of the incidence of the Jaziyeh in Persia, included in the above account (*Ibid*, pp. 659-66). The annual payment by the Bombay Parsees for their co-religionists in Persia came to about Rs. 5,000. The Bombay Parsees paid it regularly from about 1858 to 1881. The total they paid during these years came to about Rs. 1,09,564. Rich Parsees of Bombay had given large sums of money to be permanently invested, for the Jaziyeh to be paid annually from its interest.

1. Shivaji is spoken of as Shiva²¹⁸ ghani (غني), i.e., Shiva, the plunderer.

2. He came with a large equipage (hashm-i farāvān). The author gives the number of his followers as 50,000.

3. He arrested men, women and even milk-drinking children (kudakān shîr khur) from all four directions and detained them in prison (در حبس c. 172).

4. He carried away as booty (ghārat), from all houses in the city, silken cloth (qumās), gold, silver, household furniture (kālā) and jewellery (or articles, *ganj*).

5. As a result of this confusion of arrests (gīr o dār)²¹⁹, there was a general flight (gurīgh).

6. He set fire everywhere.

7. All were stupified (satuh) by his oppression.

8. Several helpless people were imploring for forgiveness from zulmāneh,²²⁰ i.e., money for ransom.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, had announced the payment of a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the purpose, before the foundation of the Fund, and his sons, later on, set apart that sum. The above-mentioned account gives one an idea of the distress which the Zoroastrians of Persia had to suffer for this tax. It was in Ramzān 1299 Hijri (August 1882), that the late Shah Nasserud-din, after several representations from the Parsees of Bombay and England, during his visit of England, kindly cancelled the tax. Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Edwards Eastwick, who were appointed to look after the arrangements for the Shah's visit to England in 1873, and various other British officers, tried their best to help the Parsees in this matter. At last, it was Mr. Ronald Thomson, the then British ambassador at Teheran, who, with his letter, dated Teheran, 27th September 1882, addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Dinshaw Manockji Petit, Bart., sent the royal *farmān* with its translation, cancelling the tax. The *farmān* is headed: "Royal Farmān issued by His Majesty Nasserreddeen Shah, relieving the Zoroastrians of Persia from the payment of the tribute annually levied from them under the name of Jezieh." (*Ibid*, p. 662.)

²¹⁸ 'Jī' at the end of the name is simply honorific. Even modern writers on his life, at times, speak of him as Shiva, e.g., Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his "Shivaji and his Times" (1919).

²¹⁹ Cf. Gujarati ૫૨૫૬૬

²²⁰ ظلمانه Steingass does not give the word, but the word seems to mean ransom, lit. a sum of money given for being released from oppression (*zulm*).

9. Those who were arrested sent words to their wives and children, that they were much oppressed and that they will not be free from the fetters of the unholy Shiva *ghani*, unless *zulmāneh* or ransom was paid.

10. Those to whom the errand was sent were quite helpless as they themselves were plundered and their houses burnt and they themselves were without food and dress.

11. So, broken-hearted and ashamed to ask (*pur khajal*), they went to Rustam Manock and prayed for help. They said that Shiva *ghani* has carried away some men from our houses and asks Rs. 10,000 as ransom for these men. He has come like Ahriman and has become an enemy of the city and the villages.

12. He had an army of 50,000 soldiers.

13. That army had, at its head, two leaders, one of whom is vicious (or cruel) and the other devillish. They were hostile to the Zoroastrians. They devastated the city and the villages and carried away from all houses silver, ornaments, apparel and grain as pillage and then set fire to the houses. They killed some and tied on their backs the hands of others. Among us, there are some who have run away from captivity.

14. Rustam Manock was affected by what they said. He gave the sum of ransom and also gave them food and clothing.

The sack is described by several contemporary writers—contemporary of the time of Shivaji—of different nationalities, Hindu, Mahomedan, English, French and Dutch. But the above account is from the pen of a contemporary Parsee priest, and as such, it may interest many. Now, before speaking of the Sack, I will say a few words on Surat and on the life of Shivaji.

Surat, standing on the southern bank of the Tapti, was about 12 miles from the sea. The city had a fort, but

*Surat at the
time of Shivaji's
Sack.*

no wall round it, at the time of the first sack. It was after the first sack that Aurangzeb ordered a wall to be built round the city. The city of Surat was, at that time, to the Western coast of India, what Bombay is at present. It was a big emporium of trade between

this part of India and the West. Again, it was the port for the pilgrims to go to Mecca. So, it was frequented, now and then, by rich pilgrims from all parts of India ^{220a} and even from Central Asia. This visit of rich pilgrims to the city added to its wealth which is said to have been "boundless".²²¹ "The imperial customs alone yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs of Rupees a year in 1666."²²²

It is said that, in the time of Akbar and Jahangir, the Portuguese having a good fleet of ships in the sea near it, molested the pilgrim ships and exacted ransoms from the pilgrims on them. To save themselves from this molestation, the pilgrims, before going on board the ships, took pass-ports from the Portuguese at Surat. They charged very high fees for these pass-ports. It is said that a daughter of Humayun had to give to the Portuguese a small village as the fee for her pass-port when she went on a pilgrimage. Shivaji himself, following the European powers, built up a fleet with a view to command the sea and especially with a view to command the pilgrim traffic. The population of the city in Aurangzeb's and Shivaji's time was about 2 lakhs of people living in an area of about 4 square miles. The rich people occupied, as now, the river frontage. Surat was one of the richest cities of the Empire and it "contributed something like half a million sterling (about Rs. 75 lacs) in addition to the land tax" to Aurangzeb.²²³ From the fact of Surat having given to Shivaji during his several sacks a good deal of wealth, Shivaji is said to have called it "the key of his treasury."²²⁴

In the time of Aurangzeb, it was the head-quarters of the Parsees. The *Khulasatu-t-tawārikh*, written some time between 1695 and 1699, thus refers to them, while speaking of Surat: "The sect of Zoroastraians (Parsis) having come from Fars and taken up their abode here, keep up among themselves the practice of

^{220a} Thomas Moore, in his *Lala Rookh*, represents the king of Bucharest coming there from Central Asia to go on a pilgrimage. This was in the time of Aurangzeb.

²²¹ Prof. Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 98. ²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Stanley Poole's *Aurangzeb*, p. 127.

²²⁴ J. H. Bilimoria's *Letters of Aurangzeb*, p. 124, n. 3.

fire-worship.”²²⁵ According to the supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, written between 1750 and 1760,²²⁶ Aurangzib built the rampart wall round the city, to prevent the Deccanis raiding the city.²²⁷ The wall, enclosing some of the ‘purās’ (પુરા), known as the Alampanah wall, was built later in the reign of Farruksiyaṛ.²²⁸ It is said that, in the early times of the Sultans of Gujarat, Rander on the other side of Tapti was the port, but in 947 Hijri (1540 A.C.) Safar Aga (Ashgar Aga), known as Khudawand Khan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, built the city Fort, to protect the city “in order to put an end to the piracy of the Europeans who were harassing the inhabitants.”²²⁹ The ports of Broach, Bulsar, Naosari, Ghandevi, Chikli, Sirbhawan and others were under the jurisdiction of the Mutasaddi of Surat.²³⁰ The port of Daman belonged to the hat-wearers (the kohlā-pō-sh), *i.e.*, the Europeans (the Portuguese).²³¹

According to De Laet,²³² Surat had, at first, “a large fort surrounded with a wall of sand stone and defended by a number of warlike engines, some of which are of exceptional size”. The town was fenced on three sides by “a dry ditch and an earthen rampart with three gates, of which one opens upon the road to Variavv (Variao)²³³, (latterly spoken of as વરિઆવ બાગલ (Variāvi Bhāgal) a small village where travellers to Cambay crossed the river Tapti.” The second gate was the Brampori gate and the third Uonsaray or Nassaray (Naosari) gate. According to this author, a large number of cotton fabrics were woven at Naosari.²³⁴

²²⁵ The India of Aurangzib, with extracts from the *Khulasatu-t-tawarikh* and the *Chahar Gulshan*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (1901), p. 63.

²²⁶ The Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (1924), p. X. ²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213 ²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.* ²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229 ²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Vide* the Empire of the Great Mogol (De Imperio Magni Mogolis), a Translation of De Laet’s “Description of India and Fragment of Indian History,” translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee (1928), p. 17. Joannes De Laet (1593-1649 A. C.) had begun his life as the Director of the Dutch Company of the West Indies. His book, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, was published in Latin in 1631. ²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²³⁴ For some further particulars about Surat in the times of the Moghal Emperors, *vide* my Paper on “A Petition in Persian by Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jehangir” (*Journal of the K. R. Cama’s Oriental Institute* No. 13, pp. 67-237).

Shivaji belonged to the Mahratha race, whose country was Maharashtra (lit. the great kingdom), the country between the Central Provinces and the Arabian Sea. The Konkan was that part of the Maharashtra which ran between the Ghats and the sea. It is a very hilly country and the towering heights of some of its mountains are studded with forts which are all Mahratha forts. Ramdeo, a prince of this Maratha race, was ruling in the Deccan, when, in about 1294, Ala-ud-din Khilji invaded it. It was Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian officer of the Mahomedan kings of Bijapur, who gave military training to the Mahrathas and brought them into prominence. When he found that his master, the king of Bijapore, and the kings of other Mahomedan states of the Deccan could not stand against the large trained armies of the Moghal Emperors on the plains, he resorted to mountain-fighting. He took Mahratha soldiers under him, and, living with them on hill forts, made matters hot for the Moghal armies on the plains. Thus, the Maharathas were trained under him to hill-fighting. Shahji,²³⁵ the father of Shivaji who belonged to the Bhonsle family of the Mahrathas was at first an officer in the Mahomedan state of Ahmednagar and then in that of Bijapore.

²³⁵ It is said of Shahji, the father of Shivaji, that he was given the name of Shah from the name of a Musulman *pir* (saint), Shah Sharif of Ahmednagar, who was engaged by his father Malaji, the son of Babaji Bhonsle, the founder of the Bhonsle family, to pray for a son, as he had no son, though he prayed to Mahadeo and to Bhavani, the tutelary deity of the family. As the Pir's prayer was accepted Malaji gave his son the name of the Pir (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (1886) p. II.) The following tree explains his ancestry:—

Babaji Bhonsle



He, fighting with the above Malick Ambar, distinguished himself in the war, against the Mogul Emperors.²³⁶

Shivaji was born in 1627, i.e., about 8 years before Rustam Manock. He passed his boyhood in wandering *Shivaji, before the Sack of Surat.* with Mawalis, i.e., the people of the mountain villages of Mawal near Poona. Inheriting the military pluck of his father, he headed the Mahrathas and took to plundering and conquering. He took the fort of Torna and built that of Rajgarh. He then took Poorandhar and several other forts. Thus, rising step by step, and taking fort after fort, he became a terror to the state of Bijapore under which his father was an officer. The Sultan of Bijapore suspected that his father Shahji was in league with his son. So he sent for him from his *jagir* in the Karnatic and imprisoned him in a dark stone dungeon. Shivaji was on fairly good terms, at that time, with the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan. So, he applied to Shah Jahan to get his father released. Shah Jahan got him released and appointed Shivaji to the command of 5,000. At this time, Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, but he soon left the Deccan on hearing that Shah Jahan was ill. The King of Bijapur, taking advantage of the absence of Prince Aurangzeb upon whom Shivaji counted for help, sent his general Afzul Khan against Shivaji. Shivaji is said to have proposed

²³⁶ A fanciful association connects Shivaji's descent with the ancient Persians. Orme says: "He (Sevaji) drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore," (Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme (1805) p. 6). Abu Fazl, in his *Am-i-Akbari*, says of "the chief of the state who was formerly called Rawal that he pretended a descent from Noshirwan the Just." (Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari* (1891) Vol. II, p. 268, ain 15). Thus Shivaji, who is said to have traced his descent from the founder of the Rajput class which traced its descent from Noshirwan (Chosroes I who died in about 570 A.C.), was connected with the ancient Persians. Orme's Note (Note VIII *Ibid*, p. 182) adds: "A very strange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajhpoot Rajah; for Cosroes was of the religion of Zoroaster, or the worshippers of fire, who although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained from eating beef." (For the said connection of the Rajputs with the ancient Persians, *vide* my article *ଶିବ୍‌ଜୀ, ରଞ୍ଜୁନାଥ ଡ଼ୋୟର* (Oodeypore, the Kashmir of Rajputanas in the Hindi Graphic of December 1928, pp. 18-21.)

reconciliation and both met at the fort of Pratabghar near Mahbleshtar (1659 A. C.). Students of history differ as to who was insincere and as to who first began a misdeed. Afzul Khan was killed by Shivaji, as some say, in self-defence. This victory over the King of Bijapur led to Shivaji's conquest of the whole of Konkan from Kallyan to Goa. Then Shivaji invaded Mughal territories with an army under the command of himself and the Peshwā (*i.e.*, Prime Minister) Morar Punt. His cavalry spread terror wherever it went. Aurangzeb ordered Shāista Khān, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to go to fight against Shivaji. Shāista Khān did so and took Poona. Shivaji attacked one night the house in which Shāista Khān lived at Poona. Shāista Khān was wounded but escaped. Shivaji left Poona before the Moghals could collect an army to fight against him and attacked Surat.

Mahratha writers say that Shivaji was inspired by the goddess Bhavani. Krishnaji Anant, a member (sabhasad) of the Court of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, who wrote the life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, says so.²³⁷ Shivaji now took the title of Raja and cast his own coins. Then, he built a fleet of his own. It seems that, when he saw that the Portuguese, who had a good fleet in the Indian sea, issued pass-ports to the pilgrims to Mecca and charged for these pass-ports very high rates,²³⁸ he also followed suit with a view to amass money. He, with the help of his fleet, stopped Muslim pilgrim ships and exacted large ransoms from them. This exasperated Aurangzeb, who, upto now, tolerated his pillaging acts as those of "a mountain rat", Shah Jahan was still alive and so Aurangzeb did not like to leave

²³⁷ His translator thus speaks of Bhavani's inspiration: "There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the visitations of the Goddess Bhavani who appeared into Shivaji on every critical occasion and the consultations of Numa Pompilius with the goddess Egeria from whom he received instructions in religion and the management of his state affairs" (*The Life and Exploits of Shivaji*, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (2nd ed., 1886), p. VI).

²³⁸ It is said that in the case of Humayun's sister, the Portuguese were given a village as the price of a pass-port.

Delhi, lest, in his absence, an attempt may be made to re-instate the late king on the throne. Again, he upto now did not like to entrust a large army to any general, lest that general with that army may turn against him. But a bigoted Mahomedan as he was, he did not like Shivaji interfering with the holy work of the pilgrimage to Mecca. So, he sent a large army against Shivaji under his general Jai Singh, keeping at his court Jai Singh's son as a hostage for the good conduct of his father. Another general, Dilir Khan, also accompanied the army. In the end, Shivaji had to make peace, known as the Peace of Purandhar. Shivaji returned to Aurangzeb all the Moghul territories he had conquered. He was given certain assignments at Bijapur which brought him 1/4th of its revenue termed as Chauth (*i.e.*, 1/4th part) and Sirdeshmukhi. Shivaji then, in alliance with Jai Singh, fought on behalf of Aurangzeb against Bijapur and drew Aurangzeb's attention towards himself, and, at his invitation, went to Delhi. When there, he took indignation at his treatment by Aurangzeb, who looked at him somewhat like a prisoner. He then with the help of Jai Singh's son, left Delhi secretly having been carried out in a basket. He returned to Raigarh in December 1666. He now assumed royalty and was solemnly crowned as a Rajah in 1674. Following the custom of the ancient kings of India and of the Moghul Emperors, he got himself weighed in gold and gave the gold to Brahmans. He had a long fight with the Siddees at Dandeh-Rajpur and Janjira. He then invaded Karnatic in 1676. Returning victoriously from there, he plundered Jalna in 1679. Now, Shivaji's son, Sambhaji, following, as it were, the practice of the Moghul Emperor's princes, who, one after another in their turns, rebelled against their fathers, rebelled against his father Shivaji and joined his father's enemy Dilir Khan, the Moghul general who had attacked Bijapur. This, as it were, gave a shock to Shivaji. Aurangzeb disapproved this act of Sambhaji and ordered Dilir Khan to send to Delhi Sambhaji who, on arriving at the Court, was imprisoned there. He, like his father some years before, contrived to escape, and, though apparently reconciled to his father, was shut up in the fort of Panalla. Shivaji died soon after, on 5th April 1680, at Raigarh at the age of 53.

end, Haji Muhammad Zahid and Pirji Borah, two rich merchants of the city, arranged "on behalf of the entire mercantile community of Surat" to lend to Murad who was hard pressed with want of money 5 lakhs of rupees on Morad passing a bond for the repayment of that amount.²⁴⁴

Shivaji thought of an offensive against the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb who had got Poona seized by his general Shāyasta Khan. Surprise was one of the chief characteristics of Shivaji. So, he wanted to surprise Surat, the chief emporium of trade in the dominions of Aurangzeb. Again, his chief object was to amass wealth by plundering this rich city. In order to avoid suspicion, he collected his army into divisions, in two distant parts of the country—one at Kalyan and another at Dandeh Rajpur.²⁴⁵ He further gave out that this preparation was to fight the Portuguese at Chaul and Bassein and the Siddhi (the Abyssinian chief) of Janjira. It is said that, he had, at first, sent as a spy his scout Balurji Naik, to examine the situation there. Robert Orme says²⁴⁶ that it was said that he himself had gone to Surat in disguise and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence and marking the opulent houses. His army for the sack consisted of 10,000 Mawalis, principally led by two leaders, Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzar. Our Qisseh's statement that the army consisted of 50,000 men, seems to be the result of what was heard in the midst of a general alarm. Our author Jamshed Kaikobad may have heard this number among the alarming news of the times. The above two leaders were the two *girdars* referred to by Jamshed Kaikobad in his Qisseh.

It was in the morning of 5th January 1664, that the people of Surat at first heard the news that Shivaji's army had arrived at Gandevis about 28 miles south of Surat. They began leaving the city for the villages on the other side of the river. Ināyat Khan,

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*; p. 325.

²⁴⁵ Orme gives the places as Chaul and Bassein. Chaul is very close to Dandeh-Rajpur and Bassein very close to Kalyan. *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire* by R. Orme, p. 12. But these places were named by Shivaji as the places of attack.

the governor of the city, fled into the fort, leaving the people to themselves to do what they liked for their safety. "Rich men found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant."²⁴⁷ A population composed mostly of money-loving traders, poor artisans punctilious fire-worshippers and tender-souled Jains, cannot readily take to war even in self-defence. The richest merchants, though owning millions of Rupees, had not the sense to hire guards for the protection of their wealth, though they might have done so at only a twentieth part of what they were soon to lose through pillage."²⁴⁸

In the midst of general fight and flight among the citizens, the members of the English and the Dutch factories stood daringly to their guns. They could have retired to their ships at Swally. But, instead of doing so, they resolved to stand in self-defence at their own factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English President sent for the sailors of his ships and with about 150 Englishmen and 60 peons defended his factory. To give confidence, at least to the people of the street round his factory, he marched with his small army headed by a band of drums and trumpets, through the streets to show that he was prepared to defend his factory. His example and that of the Dutch factor "heartened a body of Turkish and Armenian merchants to defend their property in their *serai* close to the English factory."²⁴⁹

Shivaji, not receiving a reply to his previous night's message to the Governor, began looting. The following description of the sack by Prof. Sarkar supports all that is said in Jamshed's Qisseh about the terror of the sack. "A body of Shivaji's musketeers was set to play upon the castle, with no expectation to take it, but to keep in and frighten the governor and the rest that got in, as also (to prevent) the soldiers of the castle from sallying out upon them whilst the others plundered and fired (the houses). The garrison kept up a constant fire, but the fort-guns inflicted more damage on the town than on the assailants. Throughout Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, this work of devastation was continued, every day new fires being

²⁴⁷ The city had, as it were, two *hākims* or governors, one who commanded the fort and the other a civil governor. ²⁴⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 99-100.

raised, so that thousands of houses were consumed to ashes and two-thirds of the town destroyed. As the English chaplain wrote "Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fire, the fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud'." ²⁵⁰ The house of Baharji Borah, who was "then reputed the richest merchant in the world," and who was one of the three rich persons sent for by Shivaji before he commenced the pillage, was with all its property estimated to value Rs. 80 lakhs. It was plundered and then was set on fire.

According to Robert Orme, Shivaji collected a rich booty. "The booty he collected in treasure, jewels and precious commodities, was estimated at a million sterling" ²⁵¹ (i.e., about a Crore of rupees). The pillage lasted four days and nights. Prof. Sarkar says, that Shivaji "shrank from no cruelty to extort money as quickly as possible." ²⁵² He quotes an English chaplain, who said: "His desire for money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whips them most cruelly threatens death and often executes it if they do not produce so much as he thinks they may or desire they should; — at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both." ²⁵³

Krishnaji Anant, a *sabhasad* at the court of Shivaji's second son Rajaram, who wrote a life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, thus speaks of the sack: "The people of Surat were taken unawares. The forces entered the long streets of shops near the gate of Surat. The king's forces then laid siege to merchants' houses and took away from them gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones and jewels and gold coins such as Houes ²⁵⁴ and Mohurs, and put them into their bags. They did not touch cloth, copper utensils and other insignificant

²⁵⁰ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 103.

²⁵¹ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 12-13.

²⁵² Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106. ²⁵³ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106.

²⁵⁴ A gold coin; the exact value of this coin cannot now be ascertained as there were various kinds of it and it is not known what particular kind is meant. (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshuman Mankar (1886): 2nd

articles.”²⁵⁵ The booty according to this author came to “5 crores of Hones and 4,000 horses.”²⁵⁶ The panic kept off people who had run away from returning to Surat even after Shivaji's departure.. It was on the approach of the Imperial army of Aurangzeb on the 17th to Surat that the people had some confidence and returned to the city. Aurangzeb, hearing of the sufferings of the people, excused for one year the custom duties of all merchants of Surat.

It is said that it was the courage and bravery of the English and Dutch factories that saved the situation from being still worse. Oxenden, the English President,²⁵⁷ raised his English factory in the estimation of Aurangzeb and he also won the praise and gratitude of the people. Aurangzeb appreciated the help of the English and Dutch factories by ordering that they may thereafter pay 1 per cent. less on the normal import duties.²⁵⁸

Some time after this Sack of Surat, Shivaji assumed the title of a Raja and, as said above, built a fleet of his own, wherewith he could exert some power in the sea and exact pass-port money from the pilgrims ships going to Mecca, as the Portuguese did before that time.

Shivaji's Second Sack of Surat.
Aurangzeb, as a bigoted monarch, did not like this impost upon his Mahomedan pilgrims, and so, sent his general Jai Singh to fight with Shivaji. After some fight Shivaji made peace and the treaty of Purandhar was signed. He then, thus becoming friendly with the Moghul Emperor, went to Agra on the promise of being well received and honoured, but was dissatisfied at the treatment given him. This dissatisfaction being openly expressed led to his being imprisoned. He fled practising a stratagem and returned to Raigarh in December 1666 and renewed hostilities with the Emperor. Aurangzeb ordered his officers to fight with him but the dissensions among the Moghal officers themselves could not lead to any success against Shivaji. Again, there were difficulties in the North which distracted the attention of Aurangzeb. Shivaji, on his part, wanted some years of peace, to consolidate his power. So, all these circumstances led to a peace between Shivaji and

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 63. ²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 64. ²⁵⁷ He died and is buried in Sura

²⁵⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, and his times, Ed. of 1919, pp. 117-118.

Aurangzeb in March 1668. But this peace did not last long. Both parties suspected each other and war was renewed in 1670. The tide of success was in favour of Shivaji. He reconquered, one after another, all the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzeb under the treaty of Purandhar. Among these forts attacked by him, one was that of Mahuli about 50 miles on the north-east of Bombay ²⁵⁹ which fell in August 1670 A.C. ²⁶⁰ The internal differences and disagreements between the Moghul generals, especially between Dilir Khan and Prince Muazzan, the son whom Aurangzeb suspected of being in secret league with Shivaji and of aiming at the royal throne, made matters easy for Shivaji.

At this time, Bahdur Khan, who was in sympathy with Dilir Khan, was the Subahdar of Guzarat. He heard that Shivaji was preparing for a second attack upon Surat. His proposed second sack was taken to be a more serious business than the first. The English factors wrote: "Shivaji marches now not (as) before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes."²⁶¹ On hearing of the report of the proposed attack, Bahdur Khan went to Surat in April 1670 with 5,000 men of cavalry for its defence. But Shivaji did not turn up at the time. He turned up in October and plundered Surat for the second time. The English factors, expecting that this was a more serious business, had sent down a large part of their goods to Swally Bunder where they had their ships. General Aungier, the then President at Surat, himself retired with his council to Swally. Between the first sack in 1664 and this second in 1670, Aurangzeb had built a wall for the protection of the city, but that defence could not stand against Shivaji's attack, because, at that time, the Governor had only 300 men for its defence against the several thousands—some say it was 15,000—of Shivaji. The attack came on the 3rd of October 1670. "After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marathas possessed themselves of the whole town

²⁵⁹ For an account of these forts and of the association of Manohardas with one of them, *vide* my paper "A Persian Inscription of the Mogal times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana." (*Jour., B. B. R., A. S.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 137-161. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, pp. 149-173).

²⁶⁰ Takabhai's *Life of Shivaji* p. 212

²⁶¹ Sarker's *Shivaji*, 2nd ed.,

except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large new *serai* of the Persian and Turkish merchants and the Tartar Serai midway between the English and French houses, which was occupied by Abdulla Khan, ex-king of Kashgarh, just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of 'valuable presents'. The English factory, though it was an open house, was defended by Streynsham Master²⁶² with 50 sailors, and the Marathas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men.....The Marathas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth and other valuable goods, and setting fire to several places, so that 'nearly half the town' was burnt to the ground".²⁶³ Shivaji retired from Surat at noon on 5th October 1670 and while retiring sent a message to "the officers and chief merchants saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town."²⁶⁴

This second Sack was followed by something like a communist rising of the poor. "The poor people of Surat fell to plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which were not ransacked. Even the English sailors under S. Master took to plundering."²⁶⁵ It is said that "Shivaji had carried off 66 lakhs of Rupees worth of booty from Surat, viz., cash, pearls and other articles worth 53 lakhs from the city itself and 13 lakhs worth from Nawal Sahu and Hari Sahu and a village near Surat."²⁶⁶

But this was not the only loss to Surat. This sack gave a great blow to the trade of Surat. One of the richest men of Surat at that time, the son of Haji Said Beg, referred to in the account of the first sack, resolved that he would leave Surat for good and live at Bombay. The fear of sacks in future was, it seems, more terrible than the sacks themselves. Every few days, there was an alarm of a sack from the Mahrathas, and people began running

²⁶² For this personage *vide* my paper "Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754." (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 273-97, *vide* my Asiatic Papers Part II, pp. 17-42).

²⁶³ Sarkar's Shivaji, 2nd ed., pp. 198-200.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 201. ²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 201.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*. n. 202.

away. Even the foreign factors packed up their goods for their ships at Suwāli. "Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this, the greatest emporium of Western India. For one month after the second sack, the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor Government, and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shiva's coming there again."²⁶⁷ But there was a special great alarm and scare on 12th October. Then, there were alarms at the end of November and 10th of December 1670. Then, two years after, in June 1672, in the victories of Moro Punt in the neighbouring Koli State of Ramnagar, there was again a scare because Moro Pant openly demanded a *chauth*²⁶⁸ from Surat, threatening a visitation if the Governor refused payment (1670). Thereafter again, there were scares on the following occasions: February 1672. October 1672. September 1673. October 1674. December 1679.

Now, the question is, which of these two sacks is referred to by the Qisseh of Rustam Manock. For several reasons, I think, that it is the first sack that is referred to. *Firstly*, had it been the second sack, the applicants may have, at least, made some reference to the first sack of 1674, saying that they had to suffer the miseries of another sack within a short period of six years. *Secondly*, this second sack was not so sudden as the first. In the case of the first sack, the people came to know of Shivaji's march towards Surat, so late as when he arrived at Gandevis, about 28 miles distant. But in the case of the second sack, the matter was long talked of, though the sack itself was sudden, as Shivaji's attacks generally were. Agility was one of the chief characteristics of

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁶⁸ "It (chout) was a permanent contribution of one-fourth of the revenue, and exempted the districts that agreed to it from plunder as long as it was regularly paid." (Elphinstone's History of India (1841) Vol. II, p. 485). "Chauth is an assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment, or generally to one-fourth of the actual Government collections demanded by the Marathas from the Mohammadan and Hindu princes of Hindustan, as the price of forbearing to ravage their countries. The Chauth was collected by the Marathas through their own agents". (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, pp. 106-107.)

Shivaji which contributed to his success. The sack having been talked of some time before, the English and other factors had removed their valuable things from their factories at Surat to Suwālī where they were near their ships. So, it seems that the Parsees of Surat must have been prepared for the second sack and they must have made provision in time for their own safety and the safety of their property. So, all the distress and misery referred to in the *Qisseh* were in the first sack.

We read in the *Qisseh*, more than once, the word *Zulmāneh* (ظلمانه) as paid to Shivaji. We do not find the word either in Steingass's Dictionary or in Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms.

Shivaji's zulmāneh. The Gujarati translator translates the word as *verō* (વેરો) ²⁶⁹ i. e. "tax, toll, impost." It seems to have come from the word *zulm* (ظلم) oppression, and means "a ransom extorted by oppression." It seems from the lives of Shivaji by different writers and from other writings also, that those who pillaged cities or villages imposed a certain sum, a fine you may call it, upon a town or village. If the town or village wished to be saved from a general pillage with its accompanying afflictions, it paid the sum as a ransom. It seems that Rustam Manock had settled the sum of Rs. 10,000 with Shivaji or with one of his officers as a ransom for his community. From the *Qisseh* itself, it seems to have been a sum for the ransom of those who were taken prisoners by Shivaji. But these prisoners seem to have been intended as hostages for payment from the Parsee community. Shivaji is reported to have justified these sacks and plunders by saying to the Nawab of Surat in 1678: "Your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country. That army must be paid by his subjects." ²⁷⁰

A question arises, as to where Rustam Manock was during the whole time of the sack which lasted for six days? When there was this general pillage of the rich and the poor, how did he save himself, so as to be even able to give Rs. 10,000

Where was
Rustam Manock
during the
Sack?

²⁶⁹ P. 28 of the Ms. of Transliteration and Translation.

²⁷⁰ Sarker's *Aurangzeb*. Vol. IV. pp. 233-34.

as a ransom to Shivaji for his people? I think, he may have saved himself in any one of the three following ways: 1. We saw above that some of the rich men of the city "found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant."²⁷¹ He was a rich and influential man. So, he may have sought shelter in the fort. 2. He was the Broker of the English. So, he may have sought protection in their factory. 3. He may have defended himself, putting guards on his house.

Out of these three ways, I think he resorted to the third or last way. My reasons for coming to this conclusion are the following: (a) As a rich man, he must have possessed a strong-built house, with strong gates and he may have protected that house with his own guards, a number of which rich men in those days generally kept, and with some additional guards engaged for the time. Again, I think that it is possible that the English factory, whose broker he was, may have helped him with some of their own soldiers to serve as additional guards on his gate. The presence of a few guards, even three or four, of the English Factory at the gate might have kept away from his premises Shivaji's soldiers, especially because Shivaji had made it known to the foreign factors at Surat that he had no quarrel with them, but had a quarrel only with the Moghal rulers. We read the following in the case of a rich merchant Haji Said Beg: "Haji Said Beg.....too had fled away to the fort, leaving his property without a defender. All the afternoon and night of Wednesday and till past the noon of Thursday, the Marathas continued to break open his doors and chests and carry off as much as they could.....But in the afternoon of Thursday, the brigands left it in a hurry, on being scared by a sortie, which the English had made into the street, to drive away a party of 25 Maratha horsemen who seemed intent on setting fire to another house in dangerous proximity to the English factory."²⁷² So, if the English factory defended the property of other merchants close by, it seems most likely they may have helped their own broker, Rustam Manock.

(b) Again, we learn from the *Qisseh* that his co-religionists went to him and implored his assistance for a ransom and that he gave a sum of Rs. 10,000 for their ransom. This shows that the place,

²⁷¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st ed. pp. 106-107. ²⁷² Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 112.

where the petitioners went, must have been one where they could have a comparatively easy access. They could not have an easy access to him at the English Factory guarded during the sack by English soldiers. They could not have had access to the fort of the Moghal commanders, where, under fright, the Governor had taken shelter, leaving the poor subjects to their own plight.

(c) Again, we must remember that though Shivaji had come to Surat with a picked cavalry of 4,000 people, his attack was not like that of a battle. His object was nothing but loot. So, his band, having brigandage as their object, must have spread in small numbers in all parts of the city and its suburbs. Therefore, it may not have been very difficult for Rustam Manock with his guards,—his usual guards, increased perhaps for the time being, by some special guards,—to defend his house.

(d) Again, it seems that Rustam Manock, though a rich and influential man, was not so extraordinarily rich as to draw the attention of Shivaji for being plundered. We find that, before looting the city on the 6th January 1664, he sent to the Moghal governor a message in writing, the previous night from his camp in a *wadi* about a quarter of a mile outside the Burhanpuri gate, that he (the Governor) and Haji Said Beg, Baha Borah, and Haji Qasim should see him at his camp to arrange terms, for the ransom of the city from plunder; otherwise the whole city would be attacked with sword and fire. We do not find Rustam Manock's name among the rich persons sent for. So, he may not have been so rich as to draw the special attention of Shivaji for a special attack. Therefore, it seems probable, that Rustam Manock may have defended himself with his ordinary and a few extraordinary guards.

According to the Qisseh, the Parsees complained of two officers who accompanied Shivajee. They are spoken of as “*gīr ō dār*” (گیر و دار). *Gīr dār* (گیردار) and *gīr ō bedār* (گیر و بدار), i.e., “take and hold” are battle-cries.²⁷³ The qisseh says: سر لشکرش دو بود گیر و دار

The two officers of Shivaji who accompanied him in the sack, c. 190-1.

²⁷³ Steingass (pp. 1108 and 1109) gives the meaning as “the confused clamour or noise of combatants”. Vide the words *gīr-dār* and *gīr-u-bedār*. The words are something like “stand and deliver”, the clamour of the bandits.

i.e., at the head of his army, there were two ‘*gir o dars*’. So, I think, we must take the meaning of the words to be persons who call out “Take (*i.e.*, capture) and hold (*i.e.*, detain) persons”, *i.e.*, leaders. As to who they were, the qisseh speaks in the following couplet (c. 191) :

یکی آهوجیبان و دگر دیویان بدش دشمنی قوم ذرتشتیان
i.e., “one was ‘*Āhūjībān*’ and another *Divyān*. They were the enemies of the sect of Zoroastrians.” Here it is not clear whether the words are common nouns or proper nouns. If they are common nouns, they may be taken as expressing the characteristics of the two persons who accompanied Shivaji as *gīr-o-dārs*. The first word *ahu-jiban* may be a word derived from *ahu* (P. 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀 *Pahl*, *ahū*, Avesta *āhiti*, meaning filthiness, impurity), vice and *jaib* (جیب), the heart, *i.e.*, one vicious from the very heart. The second word *div yān* may be from *دیو* (*Av. daeva*) the devil, *i.e.*, one who is of devilish nature. The Gujarati translator, in Jalbhoy’s book, has translated the couplet as: ‘તે અહુજીબા નામના અને બીજા નામ દેવીયાન કરીને છે.’²⁷⁴ *i.e.*, they are very unholy and ugly, (and are) the enemies of the Parsees. The translator of the Gujarati transliterated manuscript takes both the words as proper nouns. He translates: ‘તે અહેન, એકનું નામ અહુજીબાન અને બીજાનું નામ દેવીયાન કરીને છે.’ (c. 191). *i.e.*, the name of one of them is *Āhūjībān* and the name of the other is *Devyān*. But these names sound as very uncouth for Hindu names. So, if we at all take them as proper names, I think they are corruptions—the corruption arising from the mistake of the copyists. If so, what are the proper names of these two officers?

They may be Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzur, referred to by Mr. Takakhav.²⁷⁵ He says: “The expeditionary force consisted of 10,000 Mavalis,²⁷⁶ including such leaders of distinction as Moropant Pingle [the Peshwa or Prime Minister of Shivaji whose full name was Moro Trimbak Pingle], Prataprao Guzur, and several subordinate officers.” Or, perhaps, they may be Mukaji Anandrao

²⁷⁴ શ્રી ૬ પાના નંબર ૧૧૧ થી ૧૧૨ થી by Jalbhoy Ardeshtir Seth, p. 106.

²⁷⁵ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj (1921), p. 237

²⁷⁶ Mavalis, the people of the mountain valleys of Maval near Poona.

and Venkaji Datto. We read in Shivaji's life by Mr. J. L. Mankar : "In the meantime Bahirji, a messenger from Surat, arrived and said to the king :—' If Surat be taken, immense wealth would be found.' ²⁷⁷ The king then thought that as most of his army was composed of hired mercenaries, they would not do the work as satisfactorily as required and that he had therefore rather go in person with his forces. Having formed this resolution, the king applauded Mukaji Anandrāo, the foster son of Māhārāj Shāhāji and Venkāji Datto, a Brahmin, both of whom were renowned warriors and who had resigned the service of the Maharaja and come over to the king. He placed under them a body of 5,000 horse and taking with him as also Prataprao Sarnobat, ²⁷⁸ other warriors, 10,000 horsemen, 10,000 Shiledārs, ²⁷⁹ from 5 to 7 thousand chosen Mawalis, Sirkarkūn Moropant Peishwa, Nilopant, Dhanājipant, Dattājipant and Bāl Prabhū Chitnis, he started for Surat." ²⁸⁰

I think that it is very probable, the two named leaders of the *Qisseh* are the above Anandrao and Datto. The name Anandrao, when written in Persian characters is *انندراو*. In this name the name proper is Anand (*آنند*) and Rāo (*راو*) is honorific. Another corresponding ending is ji (*جي*). So, it is possible, the name Anandji must have been miswritten and misread as Āhūji (*آهوجي*). As to the name Devyān, the first part Deva is the name proper. Now, the above Marāthi name Datto of the second leader can be written in Persian characters as *دتو*. By a mistake of the copyist—and such mistakes are very common—the two nuktehs or dots over the second letter 't' *ت* may have been misplaced below and so Datto (*دتو*) became Div (*ديو*). The last portions *yān* *يان* seems

²⁷⁷ The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript, by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar, 2nd ed. of 1886, p. 62.

²⁷⁸ Sarnobat was the description of a higher military officer. "One Naik was appointed over ten Māwalis (the people from Māwal); one Havaldār over fifty persons; one Jumledār over two or three Havaldārs. Ten Jumledārs formed one Hazāri. . . . The Hazāris were headed by a Sarnobat (*Ibid* pp. 24-25).

²⁷⁹ Shiledar is "a horseman who provides his own horse" (*Ibid*, p. 63, n.). ²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 62-63.

to have been added as a plural, perhaps, to express the plural form to signify their followers. The last part *bān* (بَان) of the first name *Āhūjībān* seems to have been *yān* (يَان), and by a mistaken change of the two nuktehs from below to above, seems to have been read *bān*.

At the end of the section on Shivaji's sack of Surat, the Qisseh refers, as said above, to an episode in the ancient History of Iran, which occurred in the reign of Minochehr (Manushchithra of the Avesta, Yasht XIII, 131) and which is described by Firdousi.²⁸¹

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock was the Agréras and Shivaji the Afrasiāb of the story. This Agréras is the Aghraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII 131, Yt. IX 22, Yt. XIX 77²⁸²). At the end of the episode proper of Agreras, the author of the Qisseh refers to some statements of Firdousi (be goftash Firdousi-i niknām, c. 338). He quotes several lines (cc. 339-345).

The fact of Shivaji's sack doing great harm to the Parsees of Surat is attested, among other facts, by the fact of their losing some communal documents in the general flight. It is said that King Akbar had given a grant of about 100 bigāhs of land to the Parsees of Surat for constructing their Tower of Silence²⁸³.

²⁸¹ For the story in the Shah-namah of Firdousi to which the Qisseh refers, vide M. Mohl's *Livre des Rois*, vol. I, p. 428. Small volume, Vol. I., pp. 337-42. Vullers' ed. I., pp. 263-65. Kutar Brothers' ed., Vol. II, pp. 53-54, Dastur Minochehr's Translation Vol. I. pp. 469-70. Warner Brothers' Translation, Vol. I, pp. 366-7.

²⁸² For Agréras, vide my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names, pp. 7-10 and pp. 149-50.

²⁸³ Vide the printed accounts of the Parsee Panchayet for Samvat 1904 (1849 A.C.) for a reference to this subject by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., in an application made by him in Samvat 1847 to the Secretary to Government. There are three Towers of Silence at present at Surat; (1) Nanabhoy Modi's, built in 1735 A.C.; (2) Muncherji Seth's, built in 1771. (3) Edulji Seth's, built in 1828. Besides these, one, which is now all in ruins, was built under the leadership of Punjia Paya in 1663. Again the existence of three more is shown by the foundations now existing. It seems, from the above fact, of Akbar giving a grant of 100 bigāhs of land for a Tower of Silence, that the oldest Tower of Silence of Surat, of the existence of which we have a documentary evidence, must have been built in or about 1573 when Akbar visited Surat.

The document giving the grant was lost during this Sack of Shivaji. So, the King of Ahmednagar who possessed Surat later on, passed in 1752 a new *farmān*, confirming the first grant. ²⁸⁴

The Qisseh speaks of several persons having been killed in Shivaji's Sack. We find the entry of one Parsi in a Disha-poethi²⁸⁵ of Naosari. It runs thus in the list of names under Samvat 1726 (સંવત ૧૭૨૬): "૨૮-૧૨. બા ગોશતાશ બા ચાનજી રાણા શેઠ પા. મમસુઆ કરી આપેઓ. સેવાના લશ્કરમે મારી નાખેઓ સુરતમાં" ²⁸⁶ i.e., "(Roz) 28, (mah) 12. Ba (i.e., Behedin or layman) Goshtash Ba. Chanji Rana Sheth. Given as pa (i.e., પાલક or adopted son) on mother's side. (He) was killed at Surat in the army of Seva (Shivaji)." The Samvat year 1726 corresponds to 1670 A.C. So, this death took place during the second sack.

IX

III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory.

The Qisseh thus heads, as translated from the Persian, the subject of Rustam's appointment as the broker of the English Factory: "In the matter of the Englishman coming to the city of Surat in India and (Rustam Manock's) interview with him and his becoming his broker." Then the Qisseh says: "The English (Angrez) came to Surat from their country in splendour, with wealth, *dinār* and gold. They came in ship *via* the great Sea

²⁸⁴ Vide for this document, the Parsee Punchayet printed Account book of 1903 A.C. Samvat (1848 A.C.).

²⁸⁵ Disha-poethi is a book (poethi) of the anniversary days (disha or divasah) of the dead.

²⁸⁶ અધોરનાન દોહાનો ભગસાય વંશાવલી, બનાવનાર ઐરવદ રૂઝમત ભખાપત્ર ફાગુર મેહેરજી રાણા (૧૮૫૪) On p. 242 col. 2 of this work we find a death with this note. "સંવત ૧૭૧૦-૨૬-૭ એ મનોચેર એ. ને શેરવાન ખુરશેદ મોતદ સુરનાઓને મુશનમાં શલ્યોદ પરાંમે મરાશીઆએ મારી નાખેઓ. This is the record of a death at the hands of the Garassias, who were "a class of land-holders who enjoyed lands or maintain a sort of feudal authority over them. . . . By profession these people are plunderers" (Shapurji Edalji's Dictionary).

to India with a large caravan (karvan, *i.e.*, a fleet with a number of men). They came for noble trade as (lit. in the dress of) general merchants. Rustam Manock paid a visit to them. The Englishmen (kolah posh, lit. the hat-wearers) were much pleased with him. In a short time, there grew up reciprocal regard for each other and they came to be of one thought and heart. Then, the English made the Seth (Rustam) their broker and entrusted to him all their affairs. . . . Rustam then procured for them a beautiful, healthy house on the banks of the river, belonging to a well known man Haji Hajaz Beg (حاجی حجاز بیگ c. 357) at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English factors spent their own money over it and made several changes and decorated it.

Rustam Manock then went with the Englishman to the Court of Aurangzib to request favours or concessions for the English. The name of the Englishman is not given, but he is spoken of simply as a *kolāh-pōsh*, *i.e.*, hat-wearer and Angrez, *i.e.*, Englishman. Before submitting the request, Rustam gave rich *nazranch* and presents both to the courtiers and to the King (Sultān). According to the Qisseh, Rustam thus placed before the Emperor the case of the English: "This man has come from the direction of the West to India for the purpose of commerce, but the Amirs (Courtiers) of the court of His Majesty do not admit him into the city with kindness. This Englishman is a very good man and he is very full of hopes to have royal protection. He submits a request, that, by the kindness of the King, there may be a place of shelter (or protection) for him in the city of Surat, so that he may bring there (*i.e.*, at the place so given) his commerce and he may also have a store-house (or factory) there." Aurangzib accepted the request and ordered Asad Khan, who was the principal *vazir* before him, that a royal order (manshur-i shāhi) may be given to the Englishman. The order was accordingly given.

Facts gathered from the Qisseh about the English ambassador's visit.

We gather, from this account of the Qisseh, the following facts:—

1. Rustam Manock was appointed a broker by the English. The date is not given.

2. Rustam got a house for them at Rs. 3,000 per year.
3. Rustam went with the English factor to Aurangzib's Court. The name of the Englishman is not given.
4. Rustam Manock gave rich presents to the courtiers beforehand and so won them over to his request.
5. Asad Khan was the Minister (Vazir) in the presence of Aurangzib.
6. The King, accepting the Englishman's request, ordered Asad Khan to issue permission for granting all trade facilities to the English.

Jamshed Kaikobad has not been very careful and accurate in giving expression in his poem to what he wanted to say about Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat. One may perhaps be misled to infer from his writing, that Rustam Manock went to pay a visit to the very first English settlers at Surat and was appointed their broker. It gives no dates of Rustam's appointment as the English Factory's broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzib. It does not give the name of the English factor with whom he went to Aurangzib's Court. The translation of the Qisseh, which Jalbhoy, has given is very faulty. The translator has taken much liberty. For example, the last couplet of the Section on the arrival of the English runs :

پس اقبال روشی نموده درآن
چو انگریز را ایزد غیب دان

i.e., The secret-knowing God made the fortune of the English brilliant in it (i.e., in the building rented for them by Rustam). But the translator has rendered this verse as follows : પછી પાંદ.એ-તાલાએ ઇમેજને હાડો રેશન કીચો અને હાંદુસ્થાનના દરમેઆનમાં તે હાડેથી કુલાહપોરા ઇમેજ જગા પામ્યો. અને ઇમેજના હાલબની પેહેલે દીનથી રોક રસ્તમજ માણેકજ હતા, અને તમામ ઇમેજને કારોબાર તેઓના હાથમાં હતો. (p. 115).

The Gujarati translation accompanying the transliteration, which I have referred to above, is more faithful than the translation

in Jalbhoy's book. In the Persian Qisseh, there is nothing about Rustam Manock being the broker of the English from the beginning. The last part in the above translation, viz: "Even the broker of the English from the first day was Rustamji Manockji and the affairs of all the English were in his hands" is altogether an interpolation; and this seems to have misled Mr. Jalbhoy Seth to say in his book, that Rustam Manock was from the very first associated with the East India Company at Surat. He says:—

એ રસતમ માણેક સુરતની ઇંગ્લેજ કોઠીના શરૂઆતથીજ શરૂક હતા. તેવણ એ કોઠીવાળાએને નાણાની મોટી રકમો ખીરધાર કરતા હતા, તથા ઇંગ્લેજ લોકના વેપારમાં ઘણી સવલતા કરી આપતા હતા. સુરતના મોગલ ઈ અમલદારો ઇંગ્લેજ કોઠીવાળાએને તેમના વેપારમાં ઘણી હરકતો નાખ્યા કરતા હતા. તે વીશેના બંદોબસ્તો કરવાને ઇ. સ. ૧૬૬૦માં ઇંગ્લેજ કોઠીના વડો તથા તેમના શરૂક રસતમ માણેક દીલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ ઔરંગઝેબની દરબારમાં ગયા હતા (p. 3).

Translation.—This Rustam Manock was the Shroff of the English factory at Surat from the very beginning. He lent large sums of money to these factory-men and used to give convenience to the trade of the English people. The Mogal officers of Surat put hindrances in the trade of the English factory-people. To make proper arrangements for that, the head of the English factory and his shroff Rustam Manock went to Delhi to the Court of Emperor Aurangzebe in 1660.

Most of these statements, though correct in general terms, are inaccurate in particulars. These inaccuracies are: (1) that Rustam Manock was not the broker, or, as Mr. Jalbhoy speaks of him, shroff from the *very beginning* of the establishment of the English factory at Surat. (2) His visit to Aurangzebe's Court was not in 1660. (3) Aurangzib's Court was not at Delhi during his and the English factor's visit. To properly understand the inaccuracies and determine the question of the date of his appointment as broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzebe, it is essential to know a brief history of the early advent of the English into India and of the establishment of their East India Companies which were more than one. So, I will direct here the attention of my readers to (a) a brief history of the trade of the English with the Bombay Presidency and (b) to the History of the East India

Companies given above (Section III). That brief account will help us in properly grasping the trend of some facts referred to in the Qisseh and to see, that (a) the first arrival of the English at Surat was long before Rustam Manock's time and (b) his visit to Aurangzebe's court was long after 1660 and (c) that Aurangzeb's court at the time was not at Delhi.

We find from the above-written history of the English trade at Surat and of the East India Companies, that Rustam Manock was appointed the broker of the *second* or New Company, known as the English East India Company, which was founded in 1698-99, and not of the *first* Company, known as the London East India Company, founded in 1600. At the time, when the first Company was founded, the Surat factory was not established. It was established 12 years later. Rustam Manock was not even born at the time of the formation of the first Company in 1600, or at the time of the establishment in 1612. He was born in 1635. We saw above, that the broker of the first Company in 1678 was a Hindu, a Bania by caste. The brokers of the old London East India Company were Vittal and Keshav Parekh, who continued to be the old Company's brokers upto 1703,²⁸⁷ when they were seized and "barbarously tortured," till they paid three lakhs of rupees, by Itbar Khan, the Governor of Surat, because two ships, belonging to two Surat merchants Abdul Ghafur and Qasimbhai, were captured on 28th August 1703, on their way back from Mocha, and it was supposed that the European factories had some hand in the piracies, or, that they did not take sufficient measures, with their fleets, to keep off the pirates. The brokers of the English and French factories also were arrested, but they were soon released.²⁸⁸

Mr. Bomanji B. Patel²⁸⁹ gives 1660 as the time of Rustam Manock's visit to the Court of Aurangzib in the company of an English Factor, after his being appointed broker. Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, most probably following Mr. Patel, whose aid he acknowledges in his preface, gives the same date. They do not give the authority of their statement. In 1660, Rustam Manock was a mere youth of

²⁸⁷ Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 357. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.* ²⁸⁹ *Parsee Prakash I*, p. 15.

(1660-1635=) 25 years of age. A raw youth cannot be expected to go on such an important errand. So, the reference in the *Qisseh* must be taken as the reference to the first arrival, in about 1699, of the President and factors of the second Company, the English East India Company. We are supported in taking the event as that of the arrival of the President or chief factor of the second Company in 1699, by Bruce's *Annals*. John Bruce says: "While he (Sir Nicholas Waite) was President at Surat, Rustum, whom, from his first arrival, he had employed as broker, &c."²⁹⁰ Thus, we see, that Rustum Manock was the broker of the new or second Company—the English East India Company.

The *Qisseh* says that, at the time of the visit of Rustam Manock at the Court of Aurangzib in company with the Englishman, Asad Khan was the Prime Minister (Vaziri Asad Khan budeh pish-gāh c. 383). His original name was Muhammad Ibrahim Qarāmānlū. Asad Khan was his title. He was called Jamdat-ul-mulk Asad Khan. He was born in 1625-26. He was given the title of Asad Khan by Shah Jahan in the 27th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in about 1655. He became Aurangzib's Deputy *vazir* in 1670 and full *vazir* in 1676 and continued so till the death of Aurangzib.²⁹¹ He died in 1716. According to Manucci, when Sir William Norris went in 1701 to Aurangzib, he saw him. We read: "After he had rested for some days he (Norris) paid a visit to the chief minister, named Asett Can (Asad Khan), secretary of the king and his counsellor, and prayed him to assist him in the business he had to bring before the court, giving him great presents in order to obtain his support."²⁹² Asad Khan promised support but to no effect and Norris had to leave disappointed.

As to the city of their interview, the *Qisseh* says (c. 364):

*The City where
Rustam Manock
saw Aurangzib.*

بہراہ انگریز (سہنم برفت
بزودی رہ آں شاہ دلی گرفت

²⁹⁰ Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, Vol. III, p. 595.

²⁹¹ Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* by Irvine, II p. 21, n. 1. Irvine's foot-notes contradict one another. In a foot-note, No. 1, on p. 300 of Vol. III, he gives the date of his being made a full *Vazir* as 1683-84.

²⁹² Irvine's *Storia do Mogor* by Manucci, III, p. 303.

i.e., Rustam went in the company of the Englishman ; he rapidly took the way towards that king of Delhi.

This couplet does not say that they went to Delhi but says that they went to the king of Delhi. But the translator of Jalbhoy's book (p. 116) has mistranslated the second line as “તે પાશાહને હુકમ લેવાને વારતે કુશાહ પે શ ઇંગ્લેન્ડ સાથે દીલ્હી ગયા ” *i.e.*, He went to Delhi with the *kolah posh* Englishman to have orders from that King. So Jalbhoy has been misled, by the faulty translation, to say, that Rustam went to Delhi (દીલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ આંગ્રેજો મની ફરમારખાં ગયા હતા. p. 3). Mr. Ruttonji Wacha²⁹³, and Mr. Bomanji B. Patel²⁹⁴ also make the same mistake. But we saw above in our account of Aurangzib, that he left Delhi in 1683, and, though he died in 1707, he never returned to Delhi. So, the visit in 1701 was not at Delhi.

The Qisseh does not name the Englishman who went to Aurangzib's court with Rustam Manock. He simply speaks of him as the *kolah-posh* (cc. 372 384) and as the Angrez (cc. 364, 373, 376, 380-386, 391). But, as we saw above, it was with Sir William Norris that Rustam had gone to Aurangzib. The mention of Rustom's name, as we will see later on, by Bruce in his *Annal*, describing Norris's embassy, shows that Rustam had accompanied Norris.

What we read in the Qisseh is, that Aurangzib ordered Asad Khan to give the English a *formān*. But in those times, a long time generally passed between the issue of the Emperor's Order and the issue of a regular *firmān*. In this case, we learn, not from the Qisseh, but from other sources, that there was a long delay. It seems that, when Aurangzib ordered a *firmān* for the President, Sir Nicholas Waite, one of the conditions was, that the English were to undertake to protect with their fleet, the Mogul ships, especially the pilgrim ships that went to Jeddah. Sir Nicholas Waite seems to have undertaken the responsibility, but the Ambassador, when he later on, went to Aurangzib repudiated it, because it was too great a responsibility. The Indian seas were infested not only

*The arrival
of the Firmān
later on.*

²⁹³ કુશાહને બાહાર p. 429.

²⁹⁴ Parsee Prakash I, p. 23.

with English pirates, against whom they can promise protection, but also with Portuguese, Dutch and other pirates. So, Sir William Norris's repudiation led to delay in the issue of the *farmān*. I will say here a few words about the embassy of Sir William Norris to enable us to properly understand the solution.

Sir William Norris left England in January 1698, arrived at Masalipatam on the East coast in September, and landed in state on 24th December 1698. He did not land at Surat, because, there, the old Company, the London East India Company, of which the new Company, the English East India Company, was a rival, was powerful, and, at the time of his arrival, no representative of the new company had as yet arrived to receive and help him. The proposal for his ambassadorship was made by the new company.²⁹⁵ He sent a notice from Masalipatam to the Court of Aurangzib, giving information "of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the king of England, with the object of promoting trade and good relations; and, in due course, he received intimation that the various permits and mandates had been readily granted by the Mogul, so that he and his train could travel safely and unhindered to the camp. The permits, however, were long in coming, and this delay was caused, not only by the great distance but also, so Sir William (Norris) suspected, by intrigues and bribery, conducted by the old Company's agents."²⁹⁶

Waiting long, the Ambassador gave up the thought of going direct from Masalipatam to the Court of the Mogul Emperor and proposed going *via* Surat, where, by this time, *i.e.*, June 1699, the New Company had sent its officials. He was led to change his first plans and to take this course, because the new Company's local (*i.e.*, Masalipatam) agents did not help him heartily to go to the Mogul Court from Masalipatam. He quarrelled with Pitt, the Local President of the New Company there, and left for Surat. After four months' passage, he arrived at Surat on 10th December 1699. The Mogul's Men of War saluted him and he received the honour of a State entry into the city on the 26th of December.

²⁹⁵ An article, entitled "The Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib" by Mr. Harihar Das gives us a succinct account of Norris's Embassy, wherein we find Sir Nicholas Waite referred to as helping Norris. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 271 seq.) ²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 272-273.

Sir Nicholas Waite had, by this time, come to Surat as the first President of the New Company. He at first helped Norris who left Surat for the Mogul's camp on 27th January 1700. During his stay at Surat, Norris was annoyed at the conduct of the officials of the Old East India Company, and, among them, of "Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, the Old Company's chief representative in India, who was then in Surat."

We thus see that Sir Nicholas Waite, who was the first President of the New Company and who had "from his first arrival at Surat", appointed Rustam Manock his broker, must have come to Surat in the first half of 1699. Thus the appointment of Rustam Manock as broker was also in 1699.

*Dates of SIR WILLIAM NORRIS'S visit to India as English
Ambassador:—*²⁹⁷

The Formation of the New English East India Company	.. .. .	1898
The Company found recognition by the King after the customary visit from its founders	6th April 1699 ²⁹⁸	
Sir William Norris left England	.. January	1699
Arrived at Masalipatam	.. 25th September	1699
He heard that the New Company's officials (Sir Nicholas Waite and others) had arrived at Surat	.. June	1700
Left Masalipatam for Surat after 11 months' stay	.. .. August	1700
Arrived at Surat	.. 10th December	1700
Made State Entry at Surat	.. 26th December	1700
Started from Surat for Aurangzib's Camp.	27th January	1701
Arrived at Aurangzib's camp at Parnello (Panalla) which was besieged	.. .. April	1701
Formally received by Aurangzib	.. 28th April	1701
Left Aurangzib's camp disappointed	.. 5th November	1701

^{298a} *Ibid* p. 274. ²⁹⁷ I give the dates mostly according to Harihar Das (Journal of the Indian History, Vol. III, pp. 271-77). Sarkar (Aurangzeb, p. 355 seq.) gives 16 months for Norris's stay at Aurangzeb's camp—27th January 1701 to 18th April 1702. ²⁹⁸ *Vide* above.

Detained at Barhanpore for two months at the direction of Aurangzib who sent him there a letter and a sword for the English king. Left Barhanpur about 12th February 1702
 Arrived at Surat after a month's march.. 12th March 1702
 Left Surat for homeward journey .. 5th May 1702

X.

Bruce's account of Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of the English Ambassador and affairs after the return of Sir W. Norris's Embassy.

- I will speak of the whole subject of Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court under two heads:
- i. Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court with the English Ambassador.
 - ii. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the English Ambassador to England.

I. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court with an English factor.

Rustam Manock had, as a man of influence and as a broker of the Company, accompanied the Ambassador, Sir William Norris, to the Mogul Court. As John Bruce's *Annals* give us a good account of W. Norris's Embassy, and as Bruce mentions several times Rustam Manock in his account, I summarize here, in brief, Bruce's account of the Embassy and his references to Rustam. I will, at first, speak of Sir Nicholas Waite, who had appointed Rustam Manock the broker of his Company, and who was much associated with the work of the Embassy to the Mogul Court.

Nicholas Waite was appointed its first President at Surat by the new English Company. He was, at first, in the service of the old (London) East India Company at Bantam in Java and was dismissed from their service. On the occasion of the appointment, he received the honour of Knighthood. His council was to have 5 members besides himself. His first assistant, to be known as "the Second

Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New English Company.

in Council ” was not appointed at first, but the choice was to be made from Mr. Stanley or Mr. Annesley or Mr. Vaux, all of whom were dismissed by the old Company. The other members were Benjamin Mewse, Bonnel and Chidley Brooke. “ Under them, were appointed three Merchants, three Factors and eighteen Writers.”²⁹⁹ Sir Nicholas Waite reached Surat on the 19th January 1700. Mewse and Brooke had arrived on the 16th November 1699.³⁰⁰

Sir William Norris was appointed Ambassador to the Mogul Court at the instance of this Company by the King. He was to “solicit and acquire privileges for the English Company or nation”³⁰¹ He was “vested with discretionary powers”,³⁰² but the Company’s general orders were conveyed to him through Sir Nicholas Waite.³⁰³ The Company issued a general order “that their Presidents, or Consuls, alone, were entitled to grant passes to country vessels, or to make applications, through their Ambassador, to the Native Powers, for grants or privileges to the English Nation.”³⁰⁴

After landing at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite began quarrelling with the factors of the old Company and directed the old Company’s flag at Swally to be lowered. The Mogul Governor at Surat took this act as an interference in his and the Mogul Emperor’s authority and ordered the flag to be re-hoisted at once.³⁰⁵ “If the first act of Sir Nicholas Waite was violent, it was succeeded by one still more intemperate.”³⁰⁶ He “without waiting for the arrival of Sir William Norris at the Court of the Mogul.addressed at once a letter to the Mogul, accused the London Company of being sharers and abettors of the piracies. . . .and ‘of being thieves and confederates with the pirates’ ”³⁰⁷. He, declaring himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation, represented, that “he was accompanied with a squadron of four men of war, sent by the King of England, to be employed, under his directions, in capturing and punishing the pirates, and obliging them to make restitution of the vessels and property which they had taken from the Mogul’s subjects.”³⁰⁸

²⁹⁹ John Bruce’s *Annals of the Honorable East India Company from the Establishment.to the Union of the London and English East India Companies* (1810), Vol. III, p. 287. ³⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 334. ³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 325. ³⁰² *Ibid*. ³⁰³ *Ibid*. ³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 327. ³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 336. ³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 337. ³⁰⁷ *Ibid*. ³⁰⁸ *Ibid*.

Bruce gives some other instances of Sir Nicholas Waite's violent temper and conduct:—Sir William Norris landed with Mr. Norris, the Secretary, at Maslipatam as Ambassador on 25th September 1699 and wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat asking for “copies of all Phirmaunds (farmāns), or privileges, which had been granted to the English.”³⁰⁹ While describing events of 1700-01, Bruce says of Sir N. Waite: “Whatever merit may be assigned to this Agent of the English Company for his zeal, it was chance, not prudence, that prevented his bringing ruin on himself, and on his opponents.”³¹⁰ Bruce, proceeding further, says that Sir N. Waite hired a house, on which he hoisted the English king's flag, to get permission for which he had to give a large present to the king.³¹¹ This seems to be the house, which, according to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock procured for the Company, at the rent of Rs. 3,000 per year. The fact of Sir N. Waite's hoisting the English King's flag upon it explains why he had to secure, as said by the Qisseh, a palatial building at such a high rent. When he wanted to hoist the King's flag, the house must be worthy of the name of the British king. Then, Sir Nicholas Waite's misrepresentations at the Mogul Court led to restrictions on the liberty of the servants of the old Company. There arose, therefore, correspondence between both, the President of the old Company at Surat and Sir N. Waite, each accusing the other. Both parties now and then bribed the Mogul Governor of Surat. At length, both requested Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay, to go to Surat to settle the dispute.³¹² The main point of dispute with the Mogul Governor at Surat was the question of damages, about Rs. 80 lacs, for a merchant ship of Hassan Ammed on its having been captured by English pirates in 1688. In November 1710, Sir John Gayer appeared at Surat. The Mogul Governor demanded from Sir N. Waite, that he may guarantee that no damage was done to the merchants' vessels by the ships of the old Company. Waite refused to do so, unless the Mogul Governor undertook to stop the old Company from trading. Under these circumstances of dispute between the agents of the two companies, the Mogul Governor of Surat seized the letters that had passed between Colt and Gayer.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p 344³¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 370.³¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 370.³¹² *Ibid*, p. 372.

While these disputes were going on, Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, who had landed at Maslipatam and had tried to go from there to the Mogul Emperor's camp as Ambassador but had failed, came to Surat in December 1700. He was as intemperate as Waite. On coming to Surat, he got the British Union flag dismounted from the old London Company's ship. Sir J. Gayer got it hoisted again. By this time, news came from England that the old Company's claims were considered and that it was to be continued as a Corporation. This news set up the spirit of the officers of the old Company, to the effect that, at least, both the Companies were "on a state of equality. It was to retrieve the affairs of the English Company, shaken by this event, that Sir William Norris, at the great expense of a thousand gold mohurs to the Governor, five hundred to his son, and three hundred to two of his principal officers, obtained permission to make his public entry into Surat."³¹³ Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite continued taking unworthy proceedings against the officers of the old London Company and went to the extent of imprisoning some of the officers and of getting Sir John Gayer and the members of his Council confined by the Mogul Governor.³¹⁴ A short time after, Sir N. Waite was reprimanded by his Court of Directors for his conduct as Consul for having removed the old London Company's flag from their factory at Swally.³¹⁵ Then "Sir Nicholas Waite, without authority from Sir William Norris..... addressed a letter, in his Consular character, to the Mogul, requesting, as the London Company were to be dissolved, that a *Phirmaund* with the same privileges which had been granted to them might be conferred on the English Company."³¹⁶ Among the various privileges which he asked, were included "liberty of trade, and to settle factories to any ports in the Mogul's dominions; to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search;—to have license to hire or build a house and warehouses."³¹⁷ This statement of Bruce confirms all that we read in the *Qisseh*. The *phirmaund*, referred to by Bruce, as asked for by Waite, seems to be the *farmān*, referred to in the *Qisseh*, as asked by the English Factory through Rustam Manock.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 375. ³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79. ³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397. ³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

Sir N. Waite had sent letters to Sir W. Norris at Masalipatam "by daily hircarrahs"³¹⁸ saying that he was making preparations at Surat for his reception.³¹⁹

Sir W. Norris left Muslipatam on 23rd August 1700 and arrived at Swally near Surat on 10th December 1700. Sir N. Waite had offered to give Rs. 10,000 to Sir W. Norris and "credit for a lac and a half, which he had borrowed, as the stock in hand was exhausted by the investment" (p. 402). Sir W. Norris left Surat for the Mogul Emperor's Court on 20th January 1701 "with a retinue of sixty Europeans and three hundred Natives." He arrived at Kokely 66 kos from Surat on 8th February, reached Bancolee on 14th February where he was informed by Sir N. Waite that Sir John and the London Company's servants had been seized by the Mogul officers. He arrived at Gelgawn near Aurangabad on 19th February, at Damondavee on the 21st February, Brampore on 3rd March and at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzib's camp, on 7th April 1701 (pp. 405-6).

In one of his letters to the Court of Directors at home, Sir N. Waite refers to his house at Surat and says that "the house which he had hired, as a Factory, was commodious, and situated nearer to the Custom-house, than that of the London Company."³²⁰ This seems to be the house, which according to the Qisseh, Rustam had rented for the English factory, at Rs. 3,000 per year.

³¹⁸ ४)क न har-kara, (of all work, an outdoor servant employed to go on errands.....messenger, courier" (Steingass). The word has latterly become hal-karah, Parsi-Gujarathi. હાલકાર, I think originally it is Avesta han-kāra from han, ५न Gr. Sym, syn, together with, and kara ५न, work. The word would mean "one who makes all joined together." King Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru) is spoken of as han-kerena i.e., "one who made all together into one". This seems to be a reference to the establishment of a Postal Department. A har-kareh (properly speaking, han-kareh), a messenger, a postman, being one who brings distant places into a closer contact. Cyrus, who is spoken of by some, as being the same as Kai Khuru, is known to have established the system of couriers, or a kind of postal department in his dominions. His postmen were these har-karehs or han-karehs. The letter 'n' can be read in Pahlavi as 'r'. Hence 'hankareh' has become har-kareh.

³¹⁹ Bruce's Annals III, p. 401. ³²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 407.

There arose, at times, some differences between the Ambassador Sir W. Norris and the Consul Sir N. Waite, because the latter wished that Sir W. Norris, when at the Court of the Mogul, may use all his influence against Sir John Gayer and his officers who were imprisoned, but Sir W. Norris did not like to be unreasonable. Again, Sir N. Waite hesitated to advance indefinitely for the expenses of the embassy, money which had, in a short time, amounted to Rs. 3,55,179.

Sir W. Norris went in a procession to see the Emperor on 28th April 1701. By this time, Sir Nicholas Waite had created a bad impression about him at home. The Directors of his English Company "disapproved of the intemperence of Sir Nicholas Waite, in his interferences with the Governor of Surat, which had augmented the oppressions Sir John Gayer and President Colt had experienced, without serving any useful purpose."³²¹

We learn from Bruce's *Annals*³²² that Sir William Norris, whom *Places touched by Rustam Manock on his way with the Ambassador to the Mogul Court.* Rustam Manock had accompanied passed through the following places after leaving Surat on the 26th January 1701 :

Arrived at—

1. Kokely, 66 miles from Surat, on 8th February 1701.
2. Bencolee 14th February.
3. Gelgawn near Aurangabad 19th February.
4. Damondavee 21st February.
5. Brampore 3rd March.
6. Parnella, the Camp of Aurangzeb, 7th April.

The date of the Embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb comes to, as we saw above, about 1701³² of the *Qisseh* gives no dates Other later writers give the Ratanji Framji Wacha give Manock's visit to the

The date of the visit of Rustam and the Ambassador to the Mogul Court. Error of three Parsi writers.

³²¹ *Ibid*, p. 446. ³²² Vol. III, p. 404 *et seq.*

³²³ *पुर्बिनिर्दिष्ट* (1874), p. 429.

Yazdajardi, i.e., 1660 A.C. Bomanji B. Patel follows suit and gives the same year.³²⁴ Jalbhoy Seth, Rustam Manock's descendant, also gives the same date,³²⁵ following Mr. B. B. Patel, whose help he acknowledges. But all seem to err. Rustam died in 1721 aged 86. So, the event of the visit as given by these three Parsi writers, viz., 1660, must be taken as having occurred 61 years before his death, when he was aged only 25. The date is erroneous, because the event occurred late in his life, after the sack of Surat and after Aurangzeb imposed the Jaziyeh tax as described in the Qisseh. Again, the age of 25 is too young for Rustam to have acquired all the necessary influence at Surat to be appointed a broker and to go as an influential personage, with the English envoy to the Mogul Court.³²⁵

Sir William Norris's Embassy at Aurangzib's Court failed, because various reasons interfered in the complete success of the Embassy, though the Ambassador stayed long and spent a good deal of money on the upkeep of his camp and on presents, properly speaking bribes, to the Mogul officers. The principal point of failure was the insistence on the part of the Emperor that the Ambassador should give a guarantee for the safety at sea of Pilgrims' and Merchants' vessels. So the Ambassador left the Mogul Court at Panella on 5th November 1701. The various factories expressed their displeasure at the failure of the Embassy in receiving proper *farmans*. Among the faults of the Ambassador, one was said to be his disrespect to Asad Khan, the Prime Minister (*vazir*) at Burhanpore, where he did not pay the customary visit to him. Some time before the Ambassador's departure, "the Mogul's Ministers . . . sent by Rustum the broker, the obligation required by the Emperor, for the Ambassador's signature, which he refused, on the principle that, if granted, it would bring an incalculable demand on the English company which must ruin their affairs."^{326a}

³²⁴ Parsee Prakash, p. 23.

³²⁵ The Wazir of the Mogul (Genealogy of the Seth Family) p. 3.

^{326a} Bruce's Annals Vol. III no. 468-9.

The Ambassador, while returning, was stopped after three days' march, on the ground that he had left without the Emperor's *dusticks*³²⁶ or passes, those that he had already with him being those of inferior officers. He was asked to wait for two days, but, at the end of the period, not hearing from the Court, he proceeded further and arrived at Burhānpore on 14th November 1701 and left it on 22nd November. But he was shortly compelled to return to Burhānpore. On 28th November, he learnt "that orders had been sent to Surat, for the seizure of the property of the old London Company and the persons of their servants"³²⁷. On 2nd December, "he was informed, that, at the recommendation of Gazedee Khan (the Mogul's Chief General) the Phirmaunds would be granted, and a demand was made of a sum of money, for the intercession of this officer."³²⁸ On the 4th February 1702, he was informed by Gazedee Khan, "that he had received a letter and sword from the Emperor, for the King of England, with a promise, that the Phirmaunds should be sent in a short time."³²⁹ He left Burhānpore for Surat on 5th February 1702. In connection with this matter, we read as follows:—

"Rustum, the broker, was detained by the Emperor's orders, but was directed by the Ambassador, not to sign any obligation, or give any further sums of money, on account of the Embassy. Sir William Norris, at this time, promised to Gazedee Khan, that should the Phirmaunds be granted (besides the two thousand three hundred gold mohurs, which he had actually paid to him) he should be farther remunerated with a lack and a half, and his brother, with twenty thousand rupees."^{329a} The mention of Rustam's name several times by Bruce in the account of Norris's embassy to the Mogul Court, clearly shows that the unnamed *kolah posh* or *Angrez* of the Persian Qisseh, in whose company Rustam Manock went to the

³²⁶ دستک *dastak*, lit. "a little hand"; a pass, passport, permission (Steingass). I think the word may be a corruption or contraction of *dastkhat* (دستخط) handwriting, signature.

³²⁷ Bruce's *Annals*, III, p. 471. ³²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 471. ³²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 471.

^{329a} *Ibid*, pp. 471-72.

Mogul Court was Sir William Norris. The detention of Rustam Manock by the Emperor shows that he was held to be a prominent member of Sir W. Norris's Embassy. Sir William Norris reached Surat on 12th April 1702 and "on the 18th waited on the new Governor.....and obtained permission for Nicholas Waite to go out of the city, in which he had been confined since the Ambassador left the Court." ³³⁰

Sir William Norris left Surat with 13 persons of his retinue for England on 29th April 1702, paying Rs. 10,000 for his passage on a special ship. His brother, Mr. Norris, who was the Secretary of the Embassy, and 14 others of his suite went on board another ship which carried cargo of Rs. 60,000 for the Company and Rs. 87,200 for Sir William Norris. Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite did not part on good terms. Sir William "declined to deliver to Sir Nicholas Waite, a copy of his diary or papers, though he gave up his horses, camel, oxen and elephant, to be sold, on the Company's account." ^{330a} From the time when the Ambassador left the Mogul Court, Sir Nicholas Waite began to charge in his dispatches to his English Company, the Ambassador of "imprudence of his conduct..... but promised to obtain the Phirmaunds through the means of the broker, without the condition of Security-Bonds," ³³¹ which wanted to throw the responsibility of acts of piracy on the English Company. Here again we see that Rustam Manock was an influential personage in the eye of the English factory. Sir Nicholas Waite in his report, after referring to the causes of the failure of the Embassy, said that the Embassy had cost, in all, Rs. 676, 800 "and that the Phirmaunds still remained to be purchased." ^{331a}

II. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the Ambassador's return to England. Rustam's association with those affairs.

During this time, some attempts were made at home to unite the two Companies. The attempts came to maturity in 1702-1703. More earnest measures were made, with the despatch of new Men-of-War to suppress the pirates. "The Court hoped, that this measure

*Union of
the two Com-
panies.*

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 472. ^{330a} *Ibid*, p. 472. ³³¹ *Ibid*, p. 477. ^{331a} *Ibid*.

would counteract the misrepresentations to the Mogul Government, which Sir Nicholas Waite had so improperly made, that the London Company had been secretly connected with the pirates.”³³² Sir Nicholas Waite received a formal intimation of the Union of the two Companies whose separate stocks were to cease to exist from 22nd July 1702. He “was required to use his best endeavours to relieve Sir John Gayer, and the London Company’s servants, from the restraints under which they had been placed.”³³³ In case, the Mogul Government pressed for compensation for the depredations by the pirates, “he was directed to retire with the English Company’s effects, to Bombay, that Island being now the joint property of both Companies.”³³⁴

During this interval, “though several months had elapsed since the Embassy left Surat, for Europe, Sir Nicholas Waite continued to ascribe to Sir William Norris, the failure of the negotiation, and to raise the hopes of the Court, that he would procure the Phirmaunds through the interest of Gazedeer Khan.”³³⁵ He was against the Union of the two Companies, but, when formal intimation of the Union was conveyed to him, he accepted the position and “assumed a formal civility to Sir John Gayer, which was returned, as formally; neither, evidently, placing any reliance on ceremonies to which each submitted.”^{335a}

Sir John Gayer notified the Union “to the (Mogul) Government of Surat, as an event which, he trusted, would draw away all future opposition of English interests :—this act of duty was interpreted, by Sir Nicholas Waite, to be unfriendly to the interests of the English Company, and to it, he ascribed the stop which has been put to the Phirmaunds passing the Mogul’s Great Seal.”³³⁶ He then consulted the other Presidencies, “whether he should take any further steps to obtain the Phirmaunds, because the estimated expenses of procuring them, would amount to the sum of Rs. 3,20,000, and he did not know whether they could be carried to the separate stock of the English Company, or to the United Stock; meantime, that he revoked the powers given to Rustum, the broker, to defray these charges, even should he be able to obtain the Phirmaunds. In reply, those Presidencies

³³² *Ibid*, p. 493. ³³³ *Ibid*, p. 512. ³³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 513. ³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 519.

^{335a} *Ibid*. ³³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 519-20.

gave it as their opinion, that, as the Phirmaunds would apply to both Companies, now United, they did not consider the expenses, as any reason for precluding him from soliciting them, as they were grants of so much importance to the trade of India.”³³⁷

Sir Nicholas Waite, after being informed of the Union by the Court in England, had, as said above, “expressed his resolution to observe a friendly intercourse with Sir John Gayer and his Council..... but that Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended, in obtaining the Ambassador’s pardon from the Mogul.”³³⁸ The pardon was for his want of courtesy in leaving the Mogul Court without passports from the Emperor—an act for which he was detained at Burhānpore. Bruce thinks “that further negotiation for Phirmaunds, was a pretext, only; as the obtaining them would not have answered the purposes for which they were solicited”³³⁹ “Consul Pitt, and the Council at Masulipatam, still continued under the deception that Sir Nicholas Waite would be able to obtain the Phirmaunds.”^{339a}

On the foundation of the United East India Company, Sir John Gayer was re-appointed “General and Governor of Bombay,”³⁴⁰ Mr. Burinston, Deputy Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President at Surat. “To prevent the recurrence of animosities, the Consular powers of Sir Nicholas Waite were revoked, as being, from the Union, no longer necessary.”³⁴¹ Sir John Gayer was ordered to go to “the seat of Government at Bombay.”³⁴² From 22nd July 1702 “all charges were to be defrayed by the United Stock.”³⁴³ Further, “it was ordered, that an exact account should be taken of the sums which had been extorted from the London Company, as compensation for the piracies; but if the Phirmaunds had not been obtained by Sir Nicholas Waite, all farther negotiation respecting them was to terminate.”³⁴⁴

“When the Court (of Directors), towards the close of the season, were informed that the Phirmaunds had not been procured, they held it to be a fortunate circumstance, because it would

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 520. ³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 520. ³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 521. ^{339a} *Ibid.*, p. 522.
³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 531. ³⁴¹ *Ibid.* ³⁴² *Ibid.* ³⁴³ *Ibid.* ³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

prevent the payment of the large sums demanded for them, which must have embarrassed the English Company, and might have protracted the final settlement of the Union, which both Companies were solicitous to complete, previously to the lapse of the prescribed seven years.”³⁴⁵ As to the brokers, it was ordered that “the leading rule must be, to check all combinations among their brokers, and to endeavour to recover from them all debts incurred either in the sales of European, or the purchase of Indian produce.”³⁴⁶

In spite of the Union, differences between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite continued. The former's invitation to the latter for presence, when the inventory of the Dead Stock of the London Company was taken, was refused. One of the grounds for doing so, was that “Sir John Gayer, by notifying the Union to the Governor of Surat (the Phirmaunds not having been obtained) had brought on a misunderstanding, which might be prejudicial to the English Company's affairs.”³⁴⁷ We find from the proceedings of the next year (1704-5) that “the most decided approbation was given to Sir John Gayer and his Council,”³⁴⁸ by the Court at home and there was “the most marked disapprobation of Sir Nicholas Waite's conduct.”³⁴⁹ Again, Sir N. Waite was censured for not assisting in the taking of the inventory of the Dead Stocks of both Companies.³⁵⁰ During this year 1704-5, the Home authorities, at first, were in doubt, whether Sir John Gayer was released by the Mogul Governor or not. So, to provide for the contingency or his still being in prison, they “provided, that should Sir John Gayer remain a prisoner at Surat, when the instructions arrived, or for three months subsequently to that period, then Sir Nicholas Waite instead of being President at Surat, should act as General (of Bombay), provisionally, and employ his utmost efforts for the release of Sir John Gayer, and for recovering the Security-Bonds extorted formerly from President Annesley.”³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 532. ³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 542. ³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 564.

The Mogul Governor of Surat, not being able to know “whether Sir John Gayer, or Sir Nicholas Waite, was the chief officer of the United Company..... demanded evidence of the fact from both. Sir John Gayer, on this emergency, requested Sir N. Waite to send an agent from the English Company, to meet one from the London Company, that they might together wait on the Governor, and state to him, that Sir John Gayer was the General of the United Company.”³⁵² But, instead of complying with this request, Waite “sent Rustum, his broker, privately to the Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir John Gayer must be confined, and a proper guard placed over the London Company’s Factory, if the Mogul Government intended to recover money for the damages done by the pirates, amounting to eighty lacks of rupees; and, at the same time, seconded this iniquitous proceeding, by sending him a bribe of twenty-seven thousand rupees.”³⁵³

The Mogul Governor, taking this to be true, “asked Mr. Bonnell, and another Member of the English Company’s Council, whether, Sir John Gayer³⁵⁴ should be allowed to go to Bombay (as he was no longer General), the English Company would become bound for the debts due by the London Company:—Sir Nicholas Waite..... preferred the expedient of refusing to become bound for the debts of the London Company and left their General to his fate:—the immediate consequence was, that Sir John Gayer and the London Company’s servants, were kept in more close confinement.”³⁵⁵ “Mr. Burnstone, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, and Commodore Harland who commanded the men of war, on hearing of this event not only remonstrated but addressed letters to the Governor of Surat, assuring him that Sir John Gayer was,

³⁵² *Ibid*, p. 565. ³⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 565.

³⁵⁴ Sir John Gayer’s arrival at Surat from England has been thus given in a Gujarati Jamaspi; “સર્વત ૧૭૫૦ આદે રોજ ૫ આદે ૬ઠો રોજ શીરુર વેણાતથ આરવેશી ઉ ચાલેન” i.e., In Samvat 1750, on roz 5, mah 6, Shajan (i.e., Sir John) Gayer Signor (i.e., an European gentleman) has come to-day from London. (Vide my Pahlavi Translations, Part III, Jamaspi. Preface, p. XX.)

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp 565-66.

in fact, the General of the United Company in India, and that the reports of Rustum, and of Sir Nicholas Waite, were not only in opposition to the orders which had been received from the Court of Managers, but absolutely false, and, therefore, demanded that Sir John Gayer might be released."³⁵⁶ Sir John Gayer's confinement was ordered for three years. Alarmed at this letter, the Mogul Governor asked Sir N. Waite to pass "a Bond of Security that he would immediately proceed to Bombay, and, in the event of any of the Surat ships being taken, deliver them up."³⁵⁷ Both, Sir John Gayer and Sir N. Waite, wrote letters to the Court of Managers in England against one another.

Then, when, according to the above bond, Sir N. Waite asked from Commodore Harland for a ship to come to Bombay, the latter refused. So, he came to Bassein by land and then took a country vessel for Bombay where he arrived in November 1704. He took up the Acting Governorship of Bombay and sent a long report about Bombay to London. In it, he reported that he "had nominated Rustum to be broker for the United Trade."³⁵⁸ Then, in one of his reports, he said "that, in future, a Factor or two, and a few Writers, would be perfectly sufficient for the management of the United Trade at Surat, as Bombay must be made the centre of their power and trade."³⁵⁹ This is the beginning of his attempts to give Surat, a second place of importance, and Bombay, of which he was now Governor, the first place. At this time, the Dutch, retiring from Surat to Swally, had threatened to harass the trade, unless the Security Bonds for the protection of the Surat Trade from the pirates were returned to them. The bonds were returned to them. Sir N. Waite could not similarly force the return of the Security Bonds from the English, because, he had no sufficient force to blockade the river at Surat. However, he obtained "a promise from the Governor to deliver up the Security Bonds and to use his influence to obtain a new Phirmaund."^{359a} Commodore Harland, not pulling on well with Sir N. Waite, retired from Bombay on 29th January 1705.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 566. ³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 569. ³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 570. ^{359a} *Ibid.*, p. 371.

the London Company's servants. His conduct "had nearly ruined their affairs."³⁶⁸ Waite complained, that "Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, the Surat Council had embezzled the Company's property, inindigo, to the value of eleven thousand rupees, and given credit to the accusations of Rustum, the broker, against him. . . . Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, in reply, asserted that Sir Nicholas Waite had been guilty of fraud, in making an overcharge in the purchase of the Company's goods, to the amount of thirty-five thousand rupees, and that he had promised this sum to Rustum, the broker, if he would use his influence with the Governor, to detain Sir John Gayer, and the London Company's Council, in confinement."³⁶⁹ This passage shows that the relations between Sir N. Waite and Rustam Manock continued to be a estranged.

The Council of the United East India Company transferring itself to the quarters rented by Rustam.

By this time, the United Council (*i.e.*, the Council of the United East India Company) was formed as follows :—

Mr. Bendall (Old London Company's Servant)
President.
Mr. Proby (New English Company's Servant)
Second

Mr. Wyche (London Company's) Third.

Mr. Boone (English Company's) Fourth.

Sir Nicholas Waite did not approve of these nominations. The United Council, immediately on appointment, removed to the English Company's factory at Surat, which Rustam had secured for the English Factory for Rs. 3,000 per year. They also "requested the Court's protection against the malicious representations of Sir Nicholas Waite, under whose orders they regretted they had been unfortunately placed."³⁷⁰ Sir N. Waite, in his representation to the Court, asked for more Officers and Writers. He also asked for more soldiers, as he had to hire Topasses.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 619. ³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 619. ³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

³⁷¹ "Portugeze Topaz, perhaps from the Hindustani Topi, a hat. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India : in the early history of the Company, these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers ; hence, this term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula." (Wilson's *Oriental Language Glossary of Terms*, p. 525.)

President Pitt of Madras, in one of his general reports to the old Company at this time, disapproved of the Union of the two Companies, but added: "But that, considering the conduct of Sir Nicholas Waite, and the license which had been given him, to continue his unjustifiable proceedings, which had nearly brought the Company's trade on the West Coast to a stand, it was fortunate, perhaps, that the Union had taken place; for such had been his absurd violence, that Mr. Brabourne would not accept the office of Deputy Governor of Bombay, because he would not serve under a man, whose behaviour he represented to be so absurd, that the civil servants of the Company, in that quarter, had declared they would rather be private sentinels at Fort St. George than serve as Second in Council under Sir Nicholas Waite."³⁷²

In 1707-8, Sir Nicholas Waite, who hitherto was encouraged
"in his narrow and selfish projects of
Sir N. Waite dismissed. continuing himself in power; and retaining
 Sir John Gayer and the London Company's
 oldest and best servants in confinement "³⁷³ was
 dismissed from the service. They "appointed a new General
 and Council at Bombay, four of whom were to constitute the
 President and Council at Surat. The general instruction given
 to this Council was, to lay aside animosities of every kind and to
 exert their best endeavours for the liberation of Sir John Gayer
 and his Council."³⁷⁴

"The Managers of the United Trade, and the Committees of the London, and the Directors of the English Companies, adopted measures to prepare for their foreign Settlements for the Award of Lord Godolphin, which, it had been enacted should be completed before the 29th September 1708. The Court of Managers, under the circumstances, appointed a new General and Council at Bombay:—Mr. Aislabie, formerly in the London Company's service, was nominated to be General; Mr. Proby, Second in Council."³⁷⁵ This Council which was to consist of seven persons in all, were "to select four of themselves to be President and Council at Surat."³⁷⁶ Then "the Court of the London Company notified to Sir John Gayer, that Sir Nicholas Waite had been

³⁷² Bruce's *Annals*, Vol. III, pp. 625-26. ³⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 636. ³⁷⁴ *Ibid*
³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 640-41. ³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 641.

dismissed from the service of the United Company ; lamented his long confinement at Surat,³⁷⁷ and informed him that Mr. Aislabie. . . . had, with his Council, received the most positive orders to use every effort for his liberation. The Court of the English Company softened, as much as they could, to Sir Nicholas Waite, the event of his dismission, by informing him that the Court of Managers had thought fit to '*discontinue*' him from being General at Bombay."³⁷⁸

A short time before this dismissal, and some time after the death of Aurangzib, when his sons fought against each other, and when the Mahrathas, under 'Som Rajah' (Sahaji) on the one hand, and the Arab fleets on the other, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mogul Power, were asserting their powers, Sir Nicholas Waite, as General at Bombay, and the Company's Agents at Surat were continuing their reciprocal animosities.³⁷⁹ Sir Nicholas Waite wanted to bring the trade from Surat to Bombay and the Surat factors opposed him in this attempt. We saw above that it was this attempt and this opposition that had led Sir N. Waite to remove Rustam from his brokership. The Factors at Surat complained, that "they had been obliged to contract debts, on the United Company's account, to the amount, this season (1707-8) of 48,000 rupees."³⁸⁰ Under these circumstances, "any application for a Phirmaund was impracticable."³⁸¹

<i>Dates about Rustam from Bruce's Annals.</i>	We gather the following particulars and date about Rustam Manock's association with the East India Company on the authority of John Bruce's Annals : ³⁸²
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January 1700.—Rustam Manock appointed broker of the New English East India Company. In 1698, the Private Merchants of England had "renewed their former application to obtain from Parliament an Act for creating a New East India Company. The Act was passed in 1698. News of the formation

³⁷⁷ The confinement was not in any prison but in his Factory. He was not allowed to go out. ³⁷⁸ Bruce's Annals III pp. 641-642. ³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 650.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 650. ³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 651. ³⁸² Annals of the Honorable East India Company from their Establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the Union of the London and English East India Companies, 1707-8, by John Bruce, Vol. III (1810).

of the new Company arrived at Fort St. George on 28th October 1698. Sir Nicholas Waite, who was appointed the first President of this Company at Surat, arrived off Bombay on 11th January 1700. He arrived at Surat on 19th January 1700. As he employed Rustam as broker from the very time of his arrival at Surat, we arrive at the latter end of January 1700, as the date of Rustam's appointment as broker.

20th January 1701.—Rustam Manock left Surat for the Mogul Court in the Company of Sir William Norris, the Ambassador from the English Court. Sir William Norris had landed at Masalipatam on 25th September 1699. From there, he went to Surat and arrived there on 10th December 1700, and left Surat for the Mogul Court on 20th January 1701. Rustam accompanied him.

7th April 1701.—Sir William Norris and Rustam Manock arrived at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzeb's camp.

28th April 1701.—Sir William Norris went to Aurangzib's Court in a procession and paid a formal visit to pay respects. It was during the interval between 7th April, the date of arrival at Parnella, and 28th April, the date of the formal official visit, that Rustam Manock must have made the presents from the Ambassador, and, perhaps, from himself also, as said by the Qisseh, to the Prime Minister and other Officials of the Court. It was at this visit that Rustam Manock seems to have interpreted the desire of the Ambassador and asked for a farmān, etc.

5th November 1701.—Sir William Norris remaining at Parnella for about 7 months, left the Mogul Court to return to Surat.

8th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam detained on the road, after 3 days' march from the Emperor's camp, on the ground, that Norris had left the camp without a pass from the Emperor himself, the one that he had being from an inferior officer.

14th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam reached Burhānpore.

22nd November—Both left Burhānpore, but were obliged to return at the instance of the Governor of Burhānpore.

5th February 1701.—Sir William Norris left Burhānpore for Surat, but “Rustam, the broker, was detained at the Emperor’s orders.” Rustam seems to have been detained by the Emperor, because being an important personage of the Embassy, he may be nearer the Court to receive final orders about the *farmān*, etc.

February-March 1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite “revoked the powers given to Rustam, the broker, to defray the charges” of obtaining *farmāns*.

1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite informed the Court of Directors that “Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended in obtaining the Ambassador’s pardon from the Mogul.”³⁸³ This pardon refers to the fault of the Ambassador having left the Court suddenly without a pass from the Emperor.

1704.—When Sir John Gayer was appointed the General of the United Company, Sir Nicholas Waite “sent Rustum, his broker, privately to the (Mogul) Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir John Gayer must be confined³⁸⁴” and he sent to the Governor a bribe of 27,000 rupees. Thereupon, Mr. Burniston, the Deputy Governor of Bombay and Commodore Harland, sent assurances to the Governor “that the reports of Rustum and Sir Nicholas Waite.....were absolutely false.”³⁸⁵

November 1704.—Sir Nicholas Waite reported to the Court at Home that he had also “nominated Rustam to be broker for the United Trade.”

1705.—Some time after his being Governor of Bombay, when he tried to make Bombay the Headquarter of the United Company, he dismissed Rustam “from the English Company’s employment notwithstanding the United Trade was then indebted to him 1,40,000 Rupees and the separate Companies 5,50,000 rupees.”³⁸⁶ The Surat Officer, Mr. Proby, protested and wrote: “Unless Rustam should be restored, they neither could be responsible for the Company’s property, nor their own liberty and further, to second their application in favour of Rustum, Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnel accused Sir Nicholas Waite of procuring goods at cheaper rates for himself than for the Company.”^{386(a)}

³⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 520. ³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 565. ³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 561. ³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 595.

^{386(a)} *Ibid*.

We learn from the Qisseh that Rustam Manock had asked for several privileges on behalf of the English and they were granted. Some of the subjects of these privileges, referred to in Bruce's Annals, are the following :

Subjects referred to in Rustam Manock's Qisseh confirmed by Bruce's Annals.

- (1) House for the English Factory.
- (2) Warehouses.
- (3) Free ingress into and egress from the city.
- (4) Presents to the officers of the Mogul Court.
- (5) The Farmān or order of temporary concession.

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock secured a palatial house for the English Company at Surat, with an iram-³⁸⁷ like garden (c. 347) on the bank of the river

(1) The House secured by Rustam for the New English Company at Surat.

(Tapti). It was a place for residence as well as a place for trade. It was rented from Haji Hajaz Beg for Rs. 3,000 per year (c. 359). This is the house referred to in Bruce's Annals more than once. It is "the house which he (Sir Nicholas Waite) hired"³⁸⁸ and on which he wanted "to

hoist the King's flag,"³⁸⁹ to get permission for which Sir N. Waite had to give a large present to the Mogul King.³⁹⁰ We learn from Bruce that there was, as it were, a battle of flags between the two rival East India Companies. At first, the old Company had hoisted the King's flag. Sir W. Nicholas contrived to get it dismounted. This offended, not only the officers of the old Company, but also the Nawab or Governor of Surat, because the dismounting was done without his permission. The old Company re-hoisted the flag. This desire on the part of Sir N. Waite to hoist the King's flag on his factory supplies the reason, why he wanted, and why Rustam Manock secured for him, a really good large house. According to Bruce, Sir N. Waite desired to have in the *farman* from the Emperor, the "liberty of trade, and to settle Factories in any ports in the Mogul's dominions;—to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search; to have license to hire or

³⁸⁷ "dda م) | iram, the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shaddad bin 'Ad in emulation of the gardens of paradise". (Steingass.)

³⁸⁸ Bruce's Annals III, p. 370. ³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

build a house and warehouses”³⁹¹ The question of the house seemed to have been so important that Sir N. Waite, in one of his letters, to the Directors, said, that “the house was commodious, and situated nearer the Custom-house than that of the London Company.”³⁹² Just as the Qisseh speaks of this act of hiring a house as the very first act of Rustam Manock after being employed as broker, Bruce speaks of Sir Nicholas Waite’s removal of “the flag of the London Company” and that of hoisting “the King’s flag” on his newly rented house as “the first measure of Sir Nicholas Waite” after his arrival at Surat.³⁹³

This house is the house, now owned by the heirs of the late Dr. Dossabhoy Cooper, who. was an Honorary Surgeon to H. E. the Viceroy. I remember that, when I once paid a visit to Dr. Dossabhoy, about 10 years ago, he spoke, with some pride, of being the fortunate possessor of the house of the English East India Company. There is no doubt that Dr. Dossabhoy’s house is the house of the English Factory. On my making inquiries about the subsequent history of the house, through Mr. Cowasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, Dr. Dossabhoy’s son, Mr. A. Dossabhoy Cooper, wrote to Mr. Cowasji Vakil in his letter dated 6th July 1928 : “It (the house) belonged before our purchase to some relations of the Nabob of Cambay, who must be blood relations of the Surat Nabob family. It seems to have changed ownership by marriage dowry.....It was purchased by father from one Mirza Bakuralli *valad e* Mirza Mogul Beg.....I cannot say whether Haji Hajaz Beg was related to the above (Mirza Mogul Beg), but it looks likely. I also cannot clearly identify the building secured for factory by one Rustam Manock of Surat for Rs. 3,000 per annum..... But if the building was hired for English it can be none other than the one we now possess.”³⁹⁴

Dr. Dossabhoy, the father of the present owners,
The Tablet on put up on the house a tablet with the
the House at following Inscription in English and Gujarati :
present.

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 397. ³⁹² *Ibid*, p. 407. ³⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 370. ³⁹⁴ After the above correspondence I had the pleasure of seeing the house again, and I think it is the very house rented by Rustam Manock for the English East India Company’s Factory.

"The English Factory originally built in A.D. 1618 under a treaty made with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) son of the Emperor Jahangir, through the ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, it withstood a siege by the Marathas under Shivaji in A.D. 1664, and was again attacked by the Marathas in A.D. 1703. It ceased to be used for its original purpose after Surat was annexed by the British in A.D. 1800."

“અંગ્રેજોની કોઠી.”

આ કોઠી જંગીર બાદશાહના શાહજહાન પુરમ (શાહજહાન) ની સાથ અંગ્રેજોના એલચી સર થોમસ રોની મારફત થયેલા તહતામાની રૂએ પ્રથમ સને ૧૬૧૮માં બાંધવામાં આવી હતી. આ કોઠીને સને ૧૬૬૪માં મરાઠાઓએ ઘાવાજની સરદારી હેઠળ ઘેરા ધાલ્યો હતો જે ઉઠાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો. આ કોઠીને મરાઠાઓએ સન ૧૭૦૩માં ફરીથી ઘેરા ધાલ્યો હતો. અંગ્રેજોએ સુરતને પોતાના રાજ્ય સાથે સન ૧૮૦૦માં જોડી દીધું ત્યારથી આ ઈમારત કોઠી તરીકે વપરાતી બંધ થઈ.

The inscription, which is put up very recently is altogether faulty. The house had nothing to do with Khurram or his father Jahangir. The embassy of Thomas Roe at his court was not a success. The late owner, Dr. Dossabhoy, seems to have mixed up the later Embassy of Sir William Norris to the Court of Aurangzeb with that of Thomas Roe to the Court of Jahangir.

Rustam Manock applied for permission to have warehouses (ambar-khāneh c. 378). He prays that both, the factory for business trade (kā-r-i tojārat) and the warehouses may be on the same place. We find from Bruce's Annals that Sir Nicholas Waite, in his letters, asks for “a license to hire or build a house and warehouses.”³⁹⁵ An inspection of the house, even at present, shows us that by the side of the house and connected with it are large commodious warehouses.

During his visit to the Mogul Court with the Ambassador, Rustam Manock pleads for the privilege of free ingress and egress for the Factors at Surat. He complains (c. 375) that the nobles of the Court of His Majesty do not permit a free ingress into the city (of Surat).

લી દખલ નદેખંદ અબીન રા બશર અમીરન દરકા઼ે રાલા બશર

³⁹⁵ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 397.

We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Nicholas Waite, in one of his very first letters, asks for "free ingress and egress for himself and Council without search."³⁹⁶ It seems that, to a certain extent, they had an "ingress and egress," but they had always to pass through a search by Mogul Custom House officers. They prayed, through Rustam Manock, for a privilege to be saved from this search, as they had now and then to go to their ships at the Swally bunder.

We learn from the Qisseh, that before going into the presence of the Emperor, Rustam Manock (on behalf of the English) gave large presents (*nazrāneh* o *tohfa-i setorg* c. 379), and thereby pleased all the courtiers as well as the king (*Sultān*). These gifts and presents made way (*rāh kard*) for the acceptance of his requests for privileges. We find the following references to the presentation of gifts and presents to the Emperor and his Court officers in the Annals of Bruce :

(4) *Presents to the Officers of the Mogul Court.*

(a) "His (Sir Nicholas Waite's) opinion was that the Ambassador might give to the Mogul, and his ministers, besides the presents, a sum not exceeding two lacks of rupees :—he then enumerated the principal officers of the Mogul, to whom portions of this sum were to be offered ; seven of whom must be bribed high, to conciliate them to the interests of the English Company. In conducting the negociation, he cautioned the Ambassador, if he expected to succeed, not to dispute with the officers of the Mogul, on the ceremonies or precedence, to which Ambassadors in Europe were habituated, because, in the Mogul Empire, such forms could not be admitted."³⁹⁷

(b) Sir William Norris, when at Damondavee on 21st February 1701, on his way to the Mogul Court, "received authority from Sir Nicholas Waite, to pay such sums as might be necessary to obtain the privileges, it being advisable to give any amount for them, before the arrival of Dr. Davenant (a Factor of the rival London East India Company), who might counteract the whole of the negotiation ; and to induce the Mogul to accede to his requests, he was empowered to offer six thousand maunds of lead, *per annum*, at six rupees per maund."³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 397. ³⁹⁷ Annals, III, pp. 403-04. ³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, III, p. 405.

The Qisseh says that Aurangzib, on hearing Rustam Manock on behalf of the English, ordered his minister Asad Khan, that a *manshūr*, i.e., a royal mandate, might be given to the *kolah-posh* (Englishman). Asad Khan ordered a writer (*dabīr*) to prepare a farman permitting the English to have (a) egress into the city of Surat, (b) a mansion and store-house (*makān o sarā*)³⁹⁹, (c) an exemption from custom duties (*ba mal-i tojārat zakātash ma'af*. c. 388). The *farmān* was prepared and the king put his jewelled seal on it (*bar ān mohr-i khūd kard Shah ba nagīn* c. 389). The king gave the signed document to his Dastur, i.e., minister, who sent it to the English (Angrez) at the hands of a messenger (*chawash*). The Englishman was pleased when he received the *farmān* and turned with permission (*as razāyash be taft*, c. 391) towards Surat. He took the way towards Surat and Rustam went in another direction. Now, the last part of this account is not on all fours with what had happened according to the English account. It seems that what was given was not a regular *farmān*. A *farmān* was promised, but not actually given but some temporary concessions seem to have been provisionally granted. We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Edward Littleton, "Consul for the English nation in Bengal" had made all possible efforts "to assist the Embassy of Sir William Norris and to purchase temporary grants, to carry on trade till the Phirmaund could be obtained"⁴⁰⁰

XI

5. Rustam Manock's Visit, during his Return Journey from the Mogul Court, to (a) Dānda Rajpuri. (b) Daman and (c) Naosari.

According to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary privileges for the English, parted from the Englishman who went direct to Surat. He, before returning to Surat, visited the following places: (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari.

³⁹⁹ The word *sarā* means "a house, an inn." The Gujarati translator translates as "a warehouse" (ગુજરાતી ટ્રાન્સલેશન, c. 386.)

⁴⁰⁰ Annals, III, pp. 414-5.

These visits are briefly referred to in the *Qisseh*. The visit to Naosari was from a religious point of view, viz., to pray, before the Atash Behram, the Fire-Temple of the first grade, for giving thanks for his successful mission to the Mogul Court. The visit to Dandeh-i Rajpuri may be either from the point of view of being useful in some way to the English Company, whose broker he was or from his own personal point of view as a financier, merchant, or broker. This place, situated on the sea-coast at the distance of a few miles from Bombay, played a very important part in the history of the Moguls, the Mahrathas and the British. Rustam's visit of Daman may, most probably, be from the point of view of his being a broker of the Portuguese. So, I will speak here of Rustam's visit to these three places.

(a) Dandeh-i Rajpur, c. 394.

According to the *Qisseh*, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary permission from Aurangzib for the English, parted from the Englishman, who went direct to Surat. He went, at first to Dandeh-i Rajpur, where he was welcomed by Yāqub Khan. This place is not much known nowadays, but, at one time, the history of Aurangzeb and Shivaji, of the English and the Portuguese, of Yaqub and other Sidis,⁴⁰¹ was all associated with this place. Again, at one time, the history of Rajpur, Dandeh Rajpur, Janjirā, Bombay and the Western Coast of India was closely connected. So, I will speak here on the history of the place, which will make us understand the probable cause of Rustam Manock's visit of the place.

The name of the place is written a little differently by different writers. The *Qisseh* writes it as Dāndeh-i Rājpur (داندۀ راجپور). Khafi Khan speaks of it as Dandeh Rājpurī (دندۀ راجپوری). or Dāndā Rajpuri (داندۀ راجپوری)⁴⁰². Grant Duff speaks of it as "Dhunda Rajepoor."⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Africans and especially the Abyssinians were known by this name.

⁴⁰² Muntakhab-al-Lubab by Maulavi Ahmed. Bengal Asiatic Society, Ed. (1874), Vol. II, pp. 113, 1.5, 224, 1.3 &c. Elliot's History of India Vol. VII, p. 289.

⁴⁰³ History of the Mahrathas 2nd ed. by Edwards I., p. 155, 1st. ed, p. 73.

It was at this Dāndeh Rajapuri, one of the two places—the other being Kalyan—where, before his Sack of Surat, Shivaji “mustered his forces in two concentration camps with the ostensible object of a campaign against the Portuguese at Cheul and Bassein and a final struggle with the Abyssinians at Janjira. The real motive for this concentration of his forces, however, was a sudden march upon Surat and the sack of that emporium of trade on the western coast.”⁴⁰⁴

Rajpur or Rajapur is the country, now known as the country of the Nawab of Janjira. The Dandeh-i Rajpore
Its Situation. is the Fort of Rewadanda which is at some distance from Janjira. It is spoken of as Dandeh-i Rajpur, perhaps to distinguish it from the place, known as Danda on the sea shore, at the northern foot of the Pali Hill near Bandra.

The history of Rajpur, Dandeh-i Rajpur and Janjira is very much connected. Janjira is a rocky island on the south of Bombay at a distance of about 45 miles.⁴⁰⁵ Rajpur or Rajpuri is on the mainland separated by a creek known as the Rajpuri creek. It is about half a mile east of Janjira, which, as it were, guards the Rajpuri creek and the town and district of Rajpuri. The place known as Danda, and more commonly known as the Dandeh-i Rajpuri, is about 2 miles on the south-east of the town of Rajpuri. “But these two towns (Rajpur and Dandeh) are regarded as one place and formed the head-quarters of the land-possession of the Seedis, covering much of the Northern district of Colaba. From this tract, were drawn the revenue and provisions that nourished the government of Janjira.”⁴⁰⁶ The English opened a Factory at Rajpur in 1649, with a view to capture the pepper and cardamom trade that passed through it.

⁴⁰⁴ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj by N. S. Takakhav (1921), p. 237.

⁴⁰⁵ It was the invasion of Bombay by the Habsis (Abyssinians) of Janjira, that Rustamji Sorabji Patel is said to have repelled in 1692 (History of the Patel Family by Bomanji B. Patel). One of his descendants Rustomji Kavasji Patel, in his petition dated 25th July 1833 to the then Governor, Earl of Clare, said on this subject: “Also when the Seeddees took possession of the whole of Bombay, my ancestor Rustom Dorab Patel fought on the side of the English and was actually for three days in charge of the Government of the island” (Parsi Prakash I p. 21 n).

⁴⁰⁶ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 331, Chap. XI.

We read the following in Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab⁴⁰⁷

*Khafi Khan
on Danda-Raj-
puri and Janjira.*

"When the Imperial Government became friendly with Bijāpūr, the Kokan, which had belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, was granted to Adil Shah in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijapur.

Fateh Khan, an Afghan, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijapur and he posted himself in the fort of Danda-Rajpuri,⁴⁰⁸ which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Janzira⁴⁰⁸ upon an island in the sea, about a cannon shot distant from Danda-Rajpuri, in a very secure position, so that if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place."

Dr. John Fryer speaks of it as a "Strong Castle, environed about by the sea, but within Shot of the Main,"⁴¹⁰ which Siva⁴¹¹ with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The Mogul succouring it by sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim."⁴¹¹

*The History
of Dandeh Raj-
pur*⁴¹².

Janjira, Rajpur and Dandeh Rajpur were, in the early part of the 16th century, held by the Sultans of Ahmednagar, and one of the Siddee (Habsi or Abyssinian) chieftains of Ahmednagar was appointed the Governor of Dandeh Rajpur in the early part of the 16th century. But with the fall of the Ahmednagar Sultanate in the 17th century, the Siddee ruler became well-nigh independent. In 1636, the Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged

⁴⁰⁷ Muntakhab-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289 et seq.

⁴⁰⁸ "Dand and Rajpuri are close together near Janjira". *Ibid*, p. 256, n. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ "Janzira, the island, but it is more commonly known under the Marathi form 'Jinjara'. *Ibid* p. 289, n. 2.

⁴¹⁰ i.e., Mainland. ⁴¹¹ Shivaji. ⁴¹² "A New Account of the East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being nine years' Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681," by John Fryer, M.D. (1698), p. 173.

⁴¹³ Vide Sarkar's Shivaji, Chap. X. For an account from the Mahratha point of view, vide Takakhav's Shivaji Maharaj (1921), Chap. XXVIII.

the Siddee of Janjira ⁴¹⁴ as its representative in that part of the country, on condition, that he protected the trade of Bijapur and especially the pilgrims going to Mecca. There was no hereditary succession, but, on the death of a Seedee ruler, the next officer in charge of their fleet came to the *gādi* of the district. Being excellent mariners, their commander was acknowledged as admiral by the Bijapur Sultanate, and, on its fall, by the Mogal Empire. During these early times, the seas were infested by pirates—pirates of all nationalities—English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, etc. The Sidee of Janjira was expected by the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur and, later on, by the Mogul Emperors, to protect their trade from these pirates.⁴¹⁵

The Siddee Commander of this island, Yaqut Khan, had once attacked Bombay in about 1682 and it was at this time that the Parsee Patel, Rustamji Dorabji, known as Rustam Dorab and more popularly known for his bravery as Rustam Gendral (corrupted from General), is said to have helped the English in defending Bombay.⁴¹⁶ Some time after 1694, there appeared in Indian waters, an English pirate, named Henry Every. He captured Futtch Mahmood, a ship belonging to Abdool Gufoor, a rich merchant of Surat and also the Ganj Suwaia, belonging to the Mogul Emperor,⁴¹⁷ which carried a grand-daughter of Aurangzeb returning from the pilgrimage of Mecca. So,

⁴¹⁴ The word originally is Jazireh جزیره "island" or perhaps it may be Pers. zanjireh زنجیر i.e., "Ringlets or circles formed on the surface of water" (Steingass). There were more than one Janjira on the Western Coast of India, e.g., Suvarndurg Janjira, Ratnagiri Janjira, Wijayadurg Janjira (J. L. Mankar's *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (1886) p. 106).

⁴¹⁵ *Vide* for these pirates and the Siddhis' work, "The Pirates of Malabar and an English woman in India two hundred years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, 1907. Col. Biddulph says: "The Seedee of Janjira, who styled himself the Mogul's Admiral, received a yearly subsidy of four lakhs for convoying the fleet, a duty that he was quite unable to perform against European desperadoes." (Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 8).

⁴¹⁶ *Vide* "The Parsee Patels of Bombay. Their services to the British Government" by Bomanji Byramjee Patell (1876), p. 7 *et seq.* One cannot speak with certainty about the dates. Perhaps this attack was the same as that of 1694.

⁴¹⁷ Elliot's *History of India*, Muntakhab -ul-Lubab by Khafi Khan.

Aurangzeb ordered the Siddee of Janjira to march on Bombay, and take the English prisoners. President Annesley and the rest sixty-three in all were placed in irons and remained so for eleven months. This was in about 1695 or 1696.

In 1648, Shivaji captured some of the forts of the Rajpur territory of the Siddee. But the fort of Dandeh Rajpuri and some adjoining territories remained in the Siddi's hands. The Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled at Janjira from 1642 to 1655. He was succeeded by Fath Khan, who, in 1659, tried to reconquer his forts from Shivaji when the latter was engaged in war with the Bijapur army under Afzal Khan. In 1660, when Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur attacked Shivaji in his Panhala fort, Fath Khan invaded Konkan. But Shivaji, sending a large army against him, took the fort of Dandeh-i Rajpur in 1661 (July or August) and attacked Janjira, but, not having a good fleet, failed. In the end, not having any succour from Bijapur, Fath Khan made peace with Shivaji and gave up Dandeh-i Rajpur by the treaty of peace. But the peace was short-timed, because the Siddi, the maintenance of whose people of Janjira depended upon the produce of Rajpur territories, could not do without the possession of Dandeh-i-Rajpuri.

By this time, Shivaji had built a fleet of his own to protect his coast territories and secure captures of sea-trading ships. The Kolis, the Angrias, the Vaghers formed its crew. Two discontented Siddis—Masri and Daulat Khan—also took service in his fleet. With the help of this fleet, Shivaji not only carried on further conquests, but began trading himself with some Arabian and other ports. In February 1663, he prepared two ships for trade with Mocha. In 1665, he sent his trading vessels even to Persia and Basra. In February 1665, Shivaji sent a fleet of 55 ships to co-operate in the attack on South Canara. He then began plundering Mogul ships going to Mecca from Surat, which was then spoken of as Dar-ul-hajj, *i.e.*, the city of pilgrimage. So, the Moghal Emperor's general, Jai Singh, sought, in 1665, the alliance of the Siddhi, who was strong in fleet.

In 1666, when the Moghal Emperor invaded Bijapur, one Siddhi, named Sunbal or Sombal fought on the side of the Moghal army. When Shivaji made peace with the Moghal Emperor by

the treaty of Purandhar, it was arranged that, if Shivaji conquered Janjira, he was at liberty to retain it. "Shivaji offered to attempt the conquest of Janjira for the Emperor."⁴¹⁸ In 1669, Shivaji attacked Janjira with great force and, in 1670 Fath Khan being much hard pressed and not receiving any help from Bijapur was on the point of surrendering it, accepting the bribe of a Jagir, &c., from Shivaji but his three Abyssinian slaves disliked this surrender, roused the Siddi subjects for revolt and, imprisoning Fath Khan, applied to Adil Shah at Bijapur and to the Moghal Emperor for help. Aurangzib wrote to Shivaji to withdraw from Janjira, and the Siddi fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to that of Delhi, and Siddi Sanbal, one of the leaders of the revolution, was created imperial admiral with a mansab and a jagir yielding 3 lakhs of rupees. His two associates, Siddi Qasim (Yākūt) and Siddi Khairiyat were given the command of Janjira and the land dominions respectively. The Siddi fleet was taken into Mogal service on the same terms as those under Bijapur. The general title of Yaqut Khan was conferred on successive Siddi admirals from this time."⁴¹⁹ This revolution of the overthrow of Fath Khan took place in 1671.⁴²⁰

In the meanwhile, in 1670, Shivaji had arranged to seize Surat with the help of his fleet and started, but he ceased proceeding further, hearing that the Killedar of Surat, who had offered to help him was playing a fraud. In March 1671 Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprized Shivaji's Marathas when they were in the deep enjoyment of their Holi festival and re-took Dandeh-i Rajpur. Yaqut reconquered also the other seven forts taken by Shivaji. In September 1671, Shivaji sent messengers to the English at Bombay to seek their aid in his attempt to reconquer Dandeh-i Rajpuri. The Council at Surat dissuaded the authorities at Bombay from helping Shivaji, because they thought that his possession of this fort near Surat would be a threat to their naval power. In 1672, Aurangzib sent a fleet of 36 ships from Surat to help the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpur. This fleet destroyed a large part of Shivaji's fleet, six ships of which he sheltered in the harbour of Bombay. The English winked at that,

⁴¹⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st ed. p. 344. ⁴¹⁹ Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 341-42.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid* p. 342 n. Sarkar thinks that the date given by Khafi Khan is wrong.

and, lest they may incur the displeasure of Aurangzib, pretended and represented, that they themselves "had attached them as compensation for the plunder of their Rajpur factory in 1660"⁴²¹ (by Shivaji)." At this time, both Aurangzib and Shivaji courted the favour of the English to have the help of the English fleet at Bombay. Aurangzib's fleet appeared near Bombay in January 1673 with that view, but the English preferred neutrality in order to watch events. But at last they were, as it were, driven to take sides.

In August 1673, the French sold 80 ships and ammunition to Shivaji. They had similarly helped him in 1670 by selling him 40 guns during the siege of Pehderla. Now, there came the Dutch on the scene. Their commodore, Rudolf Van Gaen, offered, in March 1673, the help of their fleet of 22 ships for the capture of Dandeh-i Rajpur, if Shivaji gave them the help of 3,000 soldiers, whereby he can capture Bombay. But Shivaji refused this arrangement, especially because he disliked the Dutch.

In 1673, the Mogul fleet of 30 ships under Sanbal returned from Surat to Dandeh-i Rajpur, and, on 10th October, entering Bombay harbour, landed parties on the Pen and Nagotha river banks to destroy the Mahratha villages there. In 1674, the Siddi applied to the English to bring about a peace between him and Shivaji. In March 1674, Siddi Sanbal attacked the Mahrathas near Ratnagiri, but the Mahrathas were victorious. In 1675, Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack on Dandeh-i Rajpuri and laid a siege, which, at the end of the year, was raised on the arrival of Sanbal's fleet. It was laid again in 1675. But Sanbal's fleet compelled him to raise it in the end of 1676. In May 1676, Siddi Sanbal, having quarrelled with Aurangzeb, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan. It was this Qasim (Yaqut Khan) who had forced Shivaji's general Moro Pant to raise the siege of Janjira in December 1676. But still Sanbal did not deliver up his fleet to Qasim. In 1677, Qasim was again ordered from Delhi to give up the fleet but he disobeyed the order. At one time, when both these admirals were in Bombay, the English interfered and settled their affairs and "Qasim was installed as admiral at the end of October"⁴²² (1777). He continued the fight

⁴²¹ Sarkar's Shivaji p. 347 ⁴²² *Ibid* p. 353.

against Shivaji and, in April 1678, returned to Bombay to rest during the Monsoons. His fleet was anchored at Mazagon. Shivaji, coming from the land side, tried to set fire to the fleet but could not do so, as the Portuguese refused to let his men pass through their territories. In October 1678, Shivaji again sent his admiral Daulat Khan to bombard Janjira. Siddi Qasim could not go at once to relieve the island as he was without money from the Mogul authorities at Surat to pay his men. But, in February 1680, he went out from his Bombay anchorage. In March 1680 the English entered into an agreement with Shivaji to remain strictly neutral and not to allow the Siddi's fleet to be sheltered in the Bombay waters during the Monsoons.

In the meantime, some circumstances had begun rising to create some differences between Shivaji and the English. In April 1672, Shivaji had an eye upon the rocky Island of Kenneri (Khanderi), $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in breadth, about 11 miles south of Bombay and 30 miles north of Janjira, with a view to erect a fort there, which may, to some extent, act as a counterpoise against the rocky fort of Janjira. The English President at Surat objected, as that may affect and endanger the trade from Bombay. Both, the English and the Siddi, appearing there with their fleets, Shivaji stopped the fortification. But, later on, in August 1679, Shivaji renewed that project and, on 15th September, his admiral, known as the Mai Nayak (می نایک) i.e., the chief of the Sea (Arab. *mae*=water), took possession of the island with 4 small guns and commenced fortifying it. The Deputy Governor of Bombay protested, saying that Kennery belonged to Bombay, but the protest had no effect. So a fight began. A sea-battle was fought on 18th October 1679 between Shivaji's fleet and the English fleet. Though the English lost several ships through the cowardice of some English soldiers on board, in the end, they were victorious and Shivaji's fleet ran and took shelter in the Nagothana creek. At the end of November, a Siddi fleet joined and helped the English in bombarding Kennery. But the cost of money and men (Englishmen) in the continued naval fight was so heavy, that the English thought, on 25th October 1679, to withdraw honorably and, either settle matters with Shivaji or throw the burden of fight upon the Siddi of Janjira and upon the Portuguese of Bassein whose

foreign trade was likely to be endangered by Shivaji's occupation of Kennery. The English were especially apprehensive of an attack, in reprisal, by Shivaji upon Bombay itself. The apprehension came to be true. Shivaji sent 4,000 men to Kallian Bhimri (Bhiwardi) with a view to land in Bombay *via* Thana. The Portuguese who then occupied that part of the country prevented their passage. So, Shivaji's troops marched to their port of Panvel opposite Trombay in October 1679. The Deputy Governor of Bombay was prepared to fight boldly but the authorities of the Surat Headquarters thought it advisable to settle the dispute with Shivaji, and, in the end, Shivaji was permitted to fortify Kennery. The English ships were withdrawn from Kennery in January 1680. Then the Janjira Siddi occupied and fortified Underi, which is close to Kenneri and is about a mile in circumference,⁴²³ on 9th January 1680. Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan attacked Underi but to no purpose. "Underi continued in Siddi hands throughout Shambhaji's reign, and neutralized the Maratha occupation of Khanderi, the two islands bombarding each other."⁴²⁴

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock was very hospitably received at Dandeh-i-Rajpur by Sidee Yaquba

The Siddis. (سیدی یعقوب c. 395). He is spoken of as a

Siddee. So, I will speak here of these Siddis, who played a prominent part in the history of Central India. From Orme's account about these people, we gather the following particulars about their arrival and rise in India: They were natives of Abyssinia. At first, they came to India as traders and adventurers, and it was a king of Viziapore in the south who exalted them by giving them high posts. "The natural courage of these people, not unmixed with ferocity, awed the envy of their rivals.....At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had, under his jurisdiction, a considerable extent of the sea coast to the north and south of Gingerah, when Sevagi got possession of Dunda Rajapore."⁴²⁵ Later on, after some fight with Shivaji, they

⁴²³ The two islands are known as Annery Kenneri (अनेरी कनेरी)

⁴²⁴ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st p. 362, 2nd p. 321.

⁴²⁵ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme, p. 56.

gave their services with their fleet to Aurangzib, but they "reserved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatsoever they might recover from their former fiefs, now lost to Viziapore." ^{425a}

Some Dates about the Siddi's Rule at Rajpuri, Dandeh and Janjira.

The Siddis settled at Rajpur and Janjira.	Early 16th Century.
One of the Siddis appointed Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri by the Ahmednagar Sultanate.	Early 17th Century.
Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged the Siddi ruler as its representative in that part of the country	.. 1636
Shivaji captured all of the Siddi's forts on the mainland except Dandeh-i Rajpuri	.. .. 1648
Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled	.. .. 1642 to 1655
Siddi Fateh Khan tried to regain his forts from Shivaji, when Shivaji was fighting with Afzal Khan.	1659
Fath Khan invaded Konkan when Shivaji's fort of Panhala was besieged by Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur	1660
Shivaji conquered Dandeh-i Rajpuri and attacked Janjira but failed	.. .. 1661
Fath Khan, hard pressed, made peace with Shivaji, formally ceding to Shivaji Dandeh-i Rajpur	.. 1661
Shivaji built his own fleet and began trading with Arabian ports	.. .. 1663
Shivaji prepared his ships to co-operate for an attack on Canara	.. .. 1664
Shivaji traded with Persia, Basra, &c.	.. .. 1665
Shivaji sent a fleet of 85 frigates for the conquest of South Canara	.. .. February 1665
Jai Singh, the Mogul general, sought alliance with the Siddi to withstand Shivaji's attacks on Mogul Pilgrim ships from Surat to Mecca	.. .. 1665
A Siddhi general, named Sanbal, fought on behalf of the Moghal Emperor against Bijapore	.. .. 1666
Shivaji attacked Janjira	.. .. 1669

^{425a} *Ibid* p. 57.

Shivaji started with his fleet to capture Surat but stopped half way	1670
Revolution at Janjira. Fath Khan, who was on the point of surrendering it, was imprisoned by his people who then sought for help from Adil Shah of Bijapore and from Aurangzib	1671 ⁴²⁶
Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprised Shivaji's Mahrathas during their Holi festivities and re-took Dandeh-Rajpur and other forts ..	1671
Shivaji asked the help of the English at Bombay for his proposed reconquest of Dandeh-Rajpur but was refused	1671
Shivaji began fortifying Kenneri island but was stopped by the English and the Siddis	1672
Shivaji's fleet defeated by Aurangzib's fleet that had come to help the Siddi	1672
Mogul fleet appeared in Bombay waters peacefully January	1673
The Dutch offered help of fleet to Shivaji for capturing Dandeh, if Shivaji gave help of 3,000 men to them for capturing Bombay. Shivaji refused .. March	1673
The French sold 80 guns to Shivaji August	1673
A Mogul fleet of 30 ships, under Sambal, came towards Bombay side, and, entering Bombay waters, destroyed Mahratha villages at Pen and Nagothana	1673
The Siddi attacked the Mahrathas at Ratnagiri, but with no success	1674
Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack upon Dandeh-Rajpur and laid siege on Janjira but not successfully	1675
Janjira again besieged unsuccessfully	1676
Siddi Sambal, having quarrelled with the Moguls, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan May	1676

⁴²⁶ Sarkar says that the date was 1674 and that Khafi Khan's date 1671 is wrong.

The English interfered between the quarrels of the two admirals and Qasim (Yaqut Khan) was installed as Admiral	October	1677
Qasim Yaqut in Bombay waters with his fleet at Mazagon	April	1678
Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan bombarded Janjira	October	1678
Shivaji renewed the project of fortifying the Kennery island		1679
A sea-battle, fought between Shivaji and the English. English victorious, and Shivaji's fleet fled to Nagothana	18th October	1679
The Siddi and English fleets bombarded Kennery ..		1679
The English, to prevent further cost and loss of Englishmen in the naval fight, stopped fighting further		1679
Shivaji arranged to attack Bombay <i>via</i> Thana and Panvel		1679
Qasim (Yaqut Khan), who could not go out earlier for want of funds, left Bombay waters to attack the Mahrathas	February	1680
Agreement between the English and Shivaji that the English were not to allow the Siddi's fleet in Bombay waters during the Monsoons and that Shivaji may hold Kennery	March	1680
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi	9th July	1680

Siddi Yaquba, or Yaqut, referred to in the *Qisseh* is the Siddi Qasim, otherwise known as Yaqut Khan. *Yaquba* c. 395. It seems that, either the author of the *Qisseh*, Jamshed Kaikobad, or his copyists, misread the last letter ت 't' for ب 'b'. Such misreadings are not unusual. So, Yaqut became Yaqub and then Yaquba for respectability's sake. He was appointed, at first, the Governor of the adjoining rock-fort of Janjira and, later on, in 1677, admiral and Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpur, which he had re-captured from the hands of

Shivaji. We gather the following about him from Khafi Khan.⁴²⁷ He, Siddi Sanbal and Siddi Khairyāt, were three Abyssinian slaves of Fath Khan, the general of Bijapur who held Danda-Rajpuri and Janjira. When he was hard pressed by Shivaji who attacked these places, Fath Khan was, as said above, on the point of surrendering these places to him but these three slave officers who managed the affairs of the island resolved to revolt against Fath Khan and to take him prisoner and defend the position (1671 A.C.). Siddi Sambal died some time after, declaring Siddi Yaqut as his successor in chief power, and “enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience.”⁴²⁸ Khafi Khan thus speaks of Yakub Khan “Sidi Yāqūt was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks.”⁴²⁹ Some time after, he re-conquered Danda-Rajpuri from the hands of Shivaji when the latter had retired to a little distant place to celebrate the Holi Holidays.

In the Akham-i-Alamgiri, *i.e.* the Anecdotes of Aurangzib, he is spoken of as the *Thānahdār* of the place. We read : From the news-letter of Machhli-Bandar (Maslipatam), the Emperor learnt that Siddi Yaqut Khan, the *thanahdar* of Danda-Rajpuri, had inserted a petition under his own seal in the news-letter stating that if the Collectorship (*mutasaddi-gari*) of Danda-Rajpuri were conferred on him, he would render far better service than his predecessors in increasing the prosperity of the place and in sending the imperial Customs revenue. Across the sheet of the news-letter, the Emperor wrote : “For a long time I have known of this aggressive and self-willed spirit of Siddi Yaqut Khan.”⁴³⁰ Prof. Sarkar says : “All the Siddis (Abyssinians) holding charge of Danda-Rajpuri after 1660 bore the title of Yaqut Khan from the Mughal Government, and acted as the Mughal admirals on the Bombay coast. Khafi Khan often narrates their history (II, 225-228, 453-54). Danda Rajpuri is a town on the Bombay

⁴²⁷ Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Muhammad Hashin Khafi Khan (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289) says, that each of the three Siddi officers had 10 well-trained Abyssinian slaves under them. ⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 290. ⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 290. ⁴³⁰ Anecdotes of Aurangzib (English translation of *Akham-i-Alamgiri*, ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan), by Jadunath Sarkar, 2nd Ed. of 1925, pp. 124-25, No. 66.

coast.....facing the island of Janjira which was the stronghold of the Abyssinians.....One Siddi Yaqut was collector of Danda-Rajpuri in 1702 (U.A. 455)".⁴³¹

We find from the history of this time, that as said above, there was a Revolution at the place in 1671, which brought in Siddi Qasim, as Yaqut Khan to power. Some time after, he was asked by Aurangzib to attack Bombay and drive away the English from there. Grant Duff, in his "*History of the Mahrathas* while speaking of the events of 1689 A.C. says: "About this period the attention of the Emperor was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by individuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized.⁴³² This was no uncommon measure, for Aurangzib to adopt when any of the Moghul ships were taken, and he more than once threw the President at Surat into confinement; on the present occasion the Siddee was ordered to drive them from Bombay. Yakoot made a descent upon the island, and possessed himself of Mazagon, Sion and Mahim, but could make no impression on the fort. The attack, however continued, until the English appeased Aurangzib by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and the humblest submission. The Seedee quitted the island after he had remained upon it nearly a year."⁴³³ We read as follows on the subject: "The invasion of Bombay by the Sidi is described in a letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors of January 25, 1698. The Sidi landed with 20,000 men, seized the small fort at Sivri (or Sewri), plundered Mahim, and hoisted his flag in Mazagon fort, which had been abandoned. By February 15,

⁴³¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, p 125. ⁴³² "The English traders began at that time to assert themselves and to claim the right of fortifying their 'factories' or commercial stations. Aurangzib's hostile attitude was also due in part to the action of the Interlopers who began about 1680 to trade with the East in open opposition to the East India Company. The Mughals were unable or unwilling to distinguish between the rival companies, or indeed between English merchants and English pirates like John Avery and held the President and Council responsible for all the acts of their countrymen in the East." (Foot-note of the Editor of the revised Edition of 1921 of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.)

⁴³³ Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrathas*, revised by S. M. Edwardes (1921), Vol. I, pp. 274-75.

1689, he was master of the whole island, except the castle and a stretch of land to the south of it. From April to September 1689, Bombay was in very sorry plight. In December, Child despatched two envoys to Aurangzeb to sue for peace, the request for which was aided indirectly by certain external political factors ; and finally in February 1690, the Emperor granted a new *firman* to the Company, which had to pay him Rs. 1,50,000 in satisfaction of Mughal losses, and to promise to expel 'Mr. Child, who did the disgrace.' The Sidi finally left Bombay on June 8, 1690, nearly a year and a half after his first landing at Sivri.⁴³⁴

We gather the following facts from the above account of the Siddi's attack of Bombay :—

1. The Siddhi's sack of Bombay occurred early in January 1689. (The Despatch informing the Directors is dated 25th January 1689).
2. The Siddhi who attacked Bombay was Yāqut Khān.
3. Child, the chief factor at Surat, sent two envoys to the Court of Aurangzib to sue for peace in December 1689.
4. Aurangzib was won over "by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and humblest submission." In "the humblest submission" must be included rich presents to the King himself.
5. Aurangzib thereupon issued a firman in favour of the English.
6. The Siddi's occupation of Bombay lasted from early in January 1689 to 8th June 1690.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went there for enjoyment (tafarrurj). But, one cannot understand, why Rustam Manock should part company from his English factor and go for enjoyment to such an out of the way place like Dandeh Rajpuri, about 40 miles from Bombay by sea. We find from the above account in some details that the history of the place shows that the English had a factory there and that they had some hand in the operations there between Shivaji and the Siddi. So, it seems that Rustam Manock had gone there for some business as a broker of

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 275 n. 1. Copied with some alterations and omissions from the Bombay City Gazetteer, by S. M. Edwards, Vol. II pp. 83-85.

the English factory at Surat. Yāqūt had just come to power there and so Rustam went to him for business (*vide* above p. 243).

(b) **Rustam Manock's Visit to Damaun.**

According to the Qisseh, Rustam went from Dandeh-i-Rajpuri to Damaun. It does not say why he went there. But he must have gone there, not for any sight seeing, but on business. Rustam Manock was, besides being the broker of the English, also the broker of the Portuguese. In the Qisseh, in two places he is spoken of as the broker of the Portuguese. So, he seems to have gone there for business. The welcome extended to him by the Portuguese Government during this visit and the second visit after the capture of an Indian ship of Surat by the Portuguese and the welcome extended to him at Goa itself, when he went there later on, show that he was officially connected with the Portuguese. So, it appears that he went to Damaun on business and not on pleasure.

(c) **Rustam Manock's Visit of Naosari.**

Rustam's visit to Naosari on his way to Surat from Damaun was not for any business purpose, or for pleasure, but for a religious purpose. He had gone on an important errand, and so, on its success, he went to this town, which was on his way to Surat to offer thanksgiving to God at the fire-temple there. We find ancient Iranian kings observing such a custom.^{434a} He had, at first, a sacred bath. With the orthodox, a long journey, wherein one cannot observe all religious rites and ceremonies, necessitated such a bath.⁴³⁵ He had a bath of the kind and then he went to the Fire-temple,⁴³⁶

^{434a} *Vide* my Gujarati paper on the History of the Fire Temple of Adar Gushoop, in my Iranian Essays, Part I, pp. 125-148.

⁴³⁵ *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 149-51. *Vide* Tacitus' Annals (Bk. XV 24) for some religious scruples for travelling by water among the ancient Iranians.

⁴³⁶ The Naosari Fire-temple, at this time, was that for the sacred Fire of Iranshah, which is now located at Udwarā. This Sacred Fire was carried there in about 1516 and remained there till about 1741. (*Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates" pp. 87-88.) The present Sacred Fire at Naosari was installed on 2nd December 1765 (Parsee Prakash I, p. 45).

the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh, whose hospitality at Naosari Rustam Manock accepted was this Noshirwan Meherji. He may have been related to Rustam Manock by marriage.

3. There lived at Naosari a third Noshirwan Meherji during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721). He is Noshirwan Meherji referred to in the Bhagarsath Genealogy by Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana.⁴⁴¹ But this person died in Samvat 1735 (1679 A.C.).⁴⁴² So he cannot be the host of Rustam Manock in about 1701 A.C. when Rustam visited Naosari.

From all these considerations, I think, that the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh is the second of the three Noshirwan Meherjis referred to above. Again, the family tradition says, that this Noshirwan Meherji's family was pretty well off and had some property in Surat.⁴⁴³ So, there is a greater probability of this Noshirwan receiving Rustam Manock as his guest.

XII

Rustam Manock's Visit of Goa to get Osman Chalibee's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

Of all the places on the Western coast of India, Bombay and Goa were said to be the most important. So, even the French had an eye upon Goa, later on.

A French officer, Stanislas Lefebvre, is said to have reported: "Bombay et Goa sont sans contredit les deux pointes les plus essentielles de la côte occidentale de la Presq'île de l'Inde."⁴⁴⁴ Goa was in the time of Rustam Manock, as it is even now, the centre of Portuguese power and rule. From very early times, its excellent position on the Western coast of India attracted

⁴⁴¹ અથોરનાર દેળાની ભગસાથ વંશાવલી p. 118. *Vide* its English version "The Genealogy of the Naosari priests" issued for private circulation by Naoroz Parvez, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, p. 118. I am thankful to Mr. Mahyar N. Kutar for suggesting to me this name.

⁴⁴² *Vide* the above Gujarati Genealogy, p. 244, col. 1.

⁴⁴³ I am thankful to Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria of Naosari for this information. *Vide* also the Navar Fehrest compiled by Ervad Mahyār N. Kutār, Vol. I, 29. Nāvar, No. 235, mentions this name. He is spoken of as Suratio, i.e. of Surat.

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha, in his paper, on "The English and their Monuments at Goa" Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII p. 109.

different conquerors to this part of the country. It was visited by the Arab traveller Ibn Batuta in the 14th century.^{444a} In 1469, it passed into the hands of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan. Then, it passed into the hands of the Bijapur kings. In 1510, a Portuguese fleet under Albuquerque captured it. It was re-captured for a short time by the king of Bijapur, but Albuquerque reconquered it shortly after. The early traders spoke of it, on account of its wealth, as "the Golden Goa" (Goa Dourada) and said: "Whoever had seen Goa need not see Lisbon."⁴⁴⁵ The Portuguese based their dominion in India on conquest by the sword. They laboured to consolidate it by a proselytizing organization which throws all other missionary efforts in India into shade."^{445a} It is the "old Goa" that is referred to in the Qisseh. It was in about 1759, that Panjim or New Goa was founded. Now the story of the capture of a Mahomedan ship by the Portuguese is briefly as follows :

There was at Surat, a merchant, named Osman Chalibee. His ship, while returning from Jedda, was captured by the Portuguese. The Nawab of Surat sent for Rustam and requested him to get the ship released from the hands of the Portuguese. Rustam complied with the request. He, at first, went to Damaun, but the Governor of the place referred him to the authorities at Goa. So, he went to Bassein and from there went to Goa. The Governor-General of Goa referred the matter to the Home authorities at Portugal, and, in the end, the ship was released and handed over to Osman Chalibee through Rustam. Now, who was this Osman Chalibee ?

^{444a} The Travels of Ibn Batûta, by Rev. Samuel Lee (1829), p. 164.

⁴⁴⁵ Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th Ed., Vol. X, p. 706, col. 2 The Missionary efforts of the Portuguese reminds one of their "Inquisition" at Goa. Dr. Fryer speaks of it as "a terrible tribunal" and says of a place known as the "Sessions house" as "the bloody prison of the Inquisition" (Fryer's New Account of India and Persia, Letter IV, Chapter II, pp. 148 and 155). Niccolao Manucci refers to the town of Bassein, which is referred to in the Qisseh and says that there was an Inquisition there also. (Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, translated by William Irvine, Vol. III (1909), p. 181.

^{445a} *Ibid.*

The merchant, Osman Chalibi, for whose ship Rustam Manock went to Goa, seems to be a descendant of the family of a celebrated Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was driven, in 1554, by a great storm to the shores of Gujarat and was forced to touch Damaun, from where, some time after, he went to Surat. On making inquiries at Surat, if there were any descendants of Osman Chalibi there at present, I learn that no trace can be found of them. But there still exists at Surat a masjid bearing Chalibi's name. Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, a leading Parsee of Surat, in reply to my inquiries wrote to me thus in his letter of 24th July 1928: "I am sorry I have not been able to get any useful information on the point. It may, however, interest you to know that there is still a masjid existing in Sodagarwad⁴⁴⁶ locality, behind the City Municipality, which is known as Chalibini Masjid.⁴⁴⁷ It is being managed now by a Mahomedan gentleman, aged about 80 named Sumadbhai Ahmedbhai Misri. I made due inquiries from him, but, he too, though advanced in years, has not been able to give any information regarding the Chalibi family or Usman Chalibi mentioned, in your letter."

Baron Von Hammer speaks of one Chalibi as "Sidi Al Chalebi, Captain of the fleet of Sultan Suleiman."⁴⁴⁸ Reinaud also speaks of him as Sidi Ali-Tchelebi. He seems to have been the founder of the Chalibi family of Surat. He was called by others, and he spoke of himself as, Capudan, *i.e.*, Captain, from a similar Portuguese word. M. Reinand refers to him in his *Géographie d'Aboulféda*.⁴⁴⁹ Besides being a great admiral, he was somewhat of a scholar, a poet and a writer. He had published a book of his travels called *Merât-ul Memâlik*, (مرآت الممالك) *i.e.*, Mirror of Countries.⁴⁵⁰ An extract from this

⁴⁴⁶ *i.e.*, the street of merchants. ⁴⁴⁷ *i.e.*, the Mosque of Chalibi.

⁴⁴⁸ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 35. (November 1834) p. 545.

⁴⁴⁹ *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, traduit par M. Reinaud (1848). Tome I et II. Introduction p. CLXV.

⁴⁵⁰ *Vide Dr. Rieu's Catalogue of Turkish MSS.* p. 120, for an account of this author of *Merât-al-Memalik*.

work is published in the Transactions of our⁴⁵¹ Society, which, for some time, had ceased to be published here and were published in London, at the time, when our original Society of Bombay became a branch of the London Royal Asiatic Society.⁴⁵² M. Silvestre de Sacy has referred to this work and given a few particulars about this admiral and author.⁴⁵³ The account in our Journal is from the pen of the celebrated orientalist of the time, Joseph Hammer of Vienna. It was read on 31st October 1815, and is entitled, "Notice and Extracts of the Miritolmemalik (Mirror of Countries) of Sidi Ali Capoodawn." This work was first translated into German by M. de Diez, the Prussian envoy at Constantinople in 1815, under the title of *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* (*i.e.*, Memorable Events of Asia). Then M. Morris has translated this work into French from the German of M. de Diez in the *Journal Asiatique*.⁴⁵⁴

He has also written another work on a nautical subject under the title of Mohit (*محيط*) *i. e.* ocean. This work was finished by him at Ahmedabad in December 1554.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, published in London, 1820, pp. 1-14. ⁴⁵² For this early history of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, *vide* my "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of View," p. 2. ⁴⁵³ "Journal des Savants" de Mars 1821, quoted in *Journal Asiatique*. (Tome IX pp. 27-8).

⁴⁵⁴ "Miroir de pays, ou relations des Voyages de Sidi Aly fils d' Housain, nommée ordinairement Katibi Roumi, amiral de Solhman II (*Journal Asiatique* 1826, Tome IX, pp. 27-56, 65-97, 129-174, 193-217, 280-299). For the references to M. de Diez and M. Morris, *vide Ibid*, p. 28.

⁴⁵⁵ *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, p. 545. For the reference to Ahmedabad, *vide* p. 545. Mr. Mancherji P. Kharegat, to whom I had sent the article on Mohit, hoping that it may interest him from the point of view of his study of Iranian calendar, has kindly drawn my attention to an interesting fact, and I give it below in his own words as it may interest others also. "The article on Mohit.....has been very interesting reading for various reasons, but especially, because it has cleared up a point, *viz.*, why the peculiar arrangement of the Kadimi Calendar, in which the days are numbered, instead of being divided into months, is called Daryā-i Nauroz. I knew that both Mulla Firuz and Cowasji Patel had said, that it was because mariners used it in that form, but they had given no authority; and I was inclined to regard their remarks as mere guess-work. But the article in question proves, beyond doubt, that, at least, upto the 16th century, the Yazdagardi Calendar was actually used in this form by sea-farers; the present article also shows that they were inclined to substitute the Jalali calendar for it even then.

Hammer thus speaks of this Sidi Ali : " The Author, Captain of the Egyptian fleet of Soleimaun, the great Ottoman emperor, had received orders to carry fifteen Turkish ships from Bassora down the Persian Gulf and up the Arabian to Suez. But not being well acquainted, as it seems, either with the monsoons or with the coast of India, he lost his way and his fleet and was obliged to make his way overland from Guzerat, by Hind, Sind, Zaboulestau, Bedakhshaun, Khottaun, Toorān, Khorasaun, Khowarezem, Kipjak, Pak, and Asia Minor to Constantinople."⁴⁵⁶

*What brought
this Sidi Ali
Chalibi to Bom-
bay.*

According to what Sidi Ali says of himself in his book, he " had made from his youth nautics and seamanship the principal object of his studies and endeavours. He was a witness to the glorious conquest of Rhodes, and afterwards accompanied in the western seas the late admirals Khairaddin (Barbarossa) and Sinaun Pashaw on all their expeditions, completed in that way the course of his naval acquirements, and composed many works on nautics and astronomy."⁴⁵⁷ His " father and grandfather were both employed at the arsenal of Ghalata in the rank of Kiayas, and distinguished themselves as exquisite, skilful seamen."⁴⁵⁸

I give below some particulars about this admiral, as collected from the Notice of M. de Diez in German, as translated by M. Morris in French.⁴⁵⁹ His name was Sidi-Ali bin Housaïn. He was also called Katib-i⁴⁶⁰ Roumi. He lived during the reign of the Ottoman Emperors, Soleiman I (1519-1566) and Soleiman II. In his youth, he was somewhat of a poet. So, he took the name of Katib-i Roumi to distinguish himself from a Persian poet who was known as Katibi Adjemi. He commenced his voyages in 1553. He was appointed admiral of Egypt in that year and was asked to take the Turkish fleet from Aleppo to Bussora and then from there to Suez through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. While passing through the Persian Gulf with his 15 ships, he came across a Portuguese fleet of 25 ships at the island of Hormuz.

⁴⁵⁶ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, London (1820), Vol. II, p. 1. ⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁹ Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, p. 29 seq.

⁴⁶⁰ Katib designe un employé dans la chancellerie (*Ibid.*, p. 30).

He was victorious in the fight. Seventeen days after, he met, on Arabian coast, another Portuguese fleet of 34 ships which ran away after a short fight. Adverse winds drove him away from Arabian coast. Then he was overtaken by a heavy storm and was forced to proceed to the coast of Gujarat and to land at Daman,⁴⁶¹ which was in the hands of Sultan Ahmed and was governed by Malik Asad. This commandant, on hearing his account, told Sidi Ali to be on his guard, lest he may be again attacked by the Portuguese. At Damaun, he met some sailors of the merchant boat from Kalkun (کالکون)⁴⁶². This name is written in another place as Kalout (کلوت)⁴⁶³.

The Mahomedan Governor of Damaun advised him to proceed to Surat, which is spoken of by him as Sourriat (سریت). A large number of the people of his fleet took service among Indian troops, because they could not return by sea. The admiral himself went to Surat with some of his people. He had only few ships with him and he was again attacked by the Portuguese fleet there. But the Portuguese could not capture him. At this time, the Ottoman Empire was powerful; so, as its admiral, he commanded great respect wherever he went. He met Emperor Humayun and gave him much information about astronomy. Some Indian kings wished to keep him under their services. Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat wanted to engage him and to give him the country of Berdedj (بر دج)⁴⁶⁴. Shah Hassan Mirza of Sind wanted

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 32, 82.

⁴⁶² Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, p. 82.

⁴⁶³ Hammer gives for the first name, Calcutta. Transactions op. cit. II. p. 4. This is a mistake for Calicut. He gives, a little later on (*Ibid*), the name properly as Calicut. Perhaps, the mistake may not be his own, but of the Press in London, where our Journal was then published. As to the two different names, Kalkun (کالکون) and Kalut (کلوت), it is properly observed by the translator, that the correct word is کلکوت Kelkout, i.e., Calicut (on doit, sans doute, corriger dans les deux endroits et écrire Kelkout ou Calicut) (Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, p. 82, n. 1). This correction is justified by the fact that the king of that country is referred to as Sameri (سامری) i.e., Zamorin.

⁴⁶⁴ Jour. Asiatique IX, p. 94. This name seems to be Broach. The letter dal seems to be a mistake for vāv. So, the name may be read Barouj (بر دج), i.e., Broach.

to keep him and offered him Governorship of Lahori or Diouli Sind.^{464a} Humayun himself offered him large sums of money if he took his service. One of the Uzbek Khans offered him Bokhara when he went there. But his love for his country and attachment to the Royal house of Ottoman led him to refuse all these offers. His only great ambition at the time was to have another fleet from King Soleiman, and command it again to fight with the Portuguese. On his return journey, he passed through Sind, Hind, Zabulestan, Badukhsan, Khotan, Transoxania (Mawarannehr), the desert of Kiptchak, Khowarezm, Khorassan, Persia, Kurdistan, Bagdad, Adrianople. Soleiman was at the time at Adrianople. He was away from Turkish territories for 3 years from 1553 to 1556.

This admiral Sidi Ali was also known as Chalibi. Haji Calfa (Haji Khalfa), who lived in the 17th century and who wrote in 1645 a bibliographic Dictionary, speaks of him as Chalebi (چلبی).⁴⁶⁵ Chalebi seems to be a common family name.

According to Sir Edwin Pears⁴⁶⁶, Chilibi is the designation of the “Superior.....of the Mehlevhi Dervishes, who resides usually at Konia, the ancient Iconium.”
Chalibi, a Designation. “The act of girding on the sword of Osman, the founder of the dynasty” on the coronation day, “belongs by right” to these superiors.^{466a} According to M. Reinaud,⁴⁶⁷ there was, in 1553, an admiral of the Ottoman Emperor Soliman, named Sidi-Ali-Tehelebi. The Ottoman fleet under him, while chasing the Portuguese, who were at that time very powerful in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf, the two seas which the Musulmans considered as an appendage of the cradle of Islamism (comme une dépendance du berceau de l’islamisme⁴⁶⁸), was overtaken by great storms (horrible tempêtes) and forced by adverse winds to touch the coast

^{464a} *Ibid*, p. 131. ⁴⁶⁵ *Vide Journal Asiatique*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

⁴⁶⁶ *Forty Years in Constantinople. The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears, 1873-1915* (1916), p. 175. ^{466a} *Ibid*.

⁴⁶⁷ *Géographie d’Aboulféda*, traduite par M. Reinaud (1848), Tome I and II. Introduction; p. CLXV. ⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

of India. This Chalibi, besides being an admiral, was a great scholar and an enthusiastic searcher after knowledge.⁴⁶⁹

From the above account, the principal fact which we gather is this, that a Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was all along harassed by the Portuguese in his voyage, was driven to the shores of Gujrat by a monsoon storm. By the time he came here, his fleet was all shattered or well-nigh annihilated. He had, left with him, some ships, but they were not worth sea-faring and were also not in a position to fight with the Portuguese who were sure to harass him further. So, he thought of returning to Constantinople by land. He returned with a few men, and most of his crew and sailors took service here. He himself says in his above-mentioned work: "As my men heard of this intelligence [*viz.*, that the Portuguese fleet was coming], some of them remained at Daman, attaching themselves to the service of Melek Esed [the Mahomedan Governor of Daman on behalf of Ahmedshah] and some, preferring the land to the sea, sunk their boats, and went by land to Surat. I, with the few that remained attached to me..... proceeded to Surat by sea.....The faithful inhabitants of Surat rejoiced at our arrival.....They expressed their hopes that by Ottoman fleets Guzurat would soon be added to the Ottoman empire, and regretted only that our arrival had happened in a time of internecine discord and civil war."⁴⁷⁰ Thus, it appears, that the Siddis who played, later on, a great part in the naval warfare on the Western shore of India, and the Chalibees, were both the descendants of the brave sailors of the fleet of Siddi Ali Chalibi.

Mr. Edalji B. Patel refers to later Chalibis, named Ahmad and Saleh Chalibi.^{476a} Mr. Jahangir Burjorji Sanjana, who had, at one time, lived long at Surat, wrote on 17th August 1928, in reply to my inquiry, that there was a local tradition prevalent at Surat of a later Chalibi named

⁴⁶⁹ After writing the above, I have come across an interesting account of Konia in the Illustrated Weekly of the Times of India of 10th February 1929 (p. 24) from the pen of Dr. L. Dudley Stamp. According to this writer, Chalibi Effendi was the head of the "Order of the Whirling Dervishes of Konia." ⁴⁷⁰ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 4-5.

^{476a} The History of Surat (in Gujarati, 1890), pp. 63-64.

Mohammed Saleh Chalibi. He was a great merchant and possessed many ships. He had great influence with the kings of Delhi. It was he who had built the Daria Mahal, latterly owned by Mr. Burjorji Modi.”⁴⁷¹

According to Anquetil du Perron, who was for several years at Surat, the Chalibis, of whom he speaks as Tchelibis were Arab merchants (Marchands Arabes⁴⁷²). Anquetil Du Perron refers to the dissensions among the family of the Nabobs of Surat, wherein, the European factors took one side or another. The Dutch were on one side and the English on the other. In these dissensions, the Chalibis were on the side of Nawab Miachan (Mia Khan), who was supported by the English.⁴⁷³ Anquetil refers to the Chalibis as being very powerful.⁴⁷⁴ Anquetil also speaks of the Chalibi as the Admiral of Surat.

Some of these Chalibis were known in the West also. We read: “Widelyscattered Shia communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Chelebi of the Bektashi”.⁴⁷⁵ “The Bektashi sect is reputed to have been founded by Haji Bektash, who is represented as a fourteenth-century Anatolian saint, mainly famous as having consecrated the original corps of Janissaries.”⁴⁷⁶ The family title has also come down. In 1914, Jemal Efendi was the Chalebi and he “claims to be the actual descendant of Haji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is

⁴⁷¹ I give here the result of his inquiries in his own words : દત કથા એવી છે કે મોહમદ સાલેહ ચલેબી એક મોટા મોદાસર હતા ને તેણીના જહાઝ હતાં અને દીલ્હી સુધી તેવણની સાથે હતી, ને સુરતને સુધી બદલવા હોય, તે સુરતથી ચાર પાંચ માણસ દીલ્હી લખી મોકલે તે સુરતને સુધી બદલાઈ બય. બરજોરજી મોદાસર દરયા મહેલ છે તે અસલ તેવણે આંધણી તેમજ મ્યુનીસીપાલીટીની પછવાડે મસજદ છે તે ચલેબી મસજદની નામની મોહમદ મશહૂર છે. તેમજ તેની સાથે મોટી જમીન છે તેમાં નાજુદાવાલાએ વાડી બનાવી છે. તેમજ મોટી કુવા હોય તિ. છે. તેવણની આજ્ઞાને કોઈ નય.] I think that, perhaps, the nakhū-dāwālā referred to here was some one of the descendants of the above-followers of the above great Turkish Nākhodā or Captain.

⁴⁷² Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre (1761) Tome I, p. 278.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 283. For an account of these disensions, *vide my* Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab p. 27 seq. ⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 350.

⁴⁷⁵ Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, by F. W. Hasluck, Vol. I., p. 161, ⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 159

hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Chelebi taking precedence of his eldest son".⁴⁷⁷ Some pronounce the name as Zelebi ⁴⁷⁸.

The Kisseh speaks of Rustam Manock going to the Captain Kerān (کران) of Damaun. This name occurs in several places (cc. 479, 482, 502, 511).
Captain Keran of Damaun. The Gujarati translator takes these words to be a proper name (c. 484). If so, who is this Captain Kerān. I wrote, on this subject, to Mr. Dhanjishaw Cawasji Dhanbhura, who has founded, recently, near the village of Devka, in the vicinity of Damaun, a Parsee colony of middle class Parsees, who have built their bungalows there on the beautiful sea-shore. He is the Abkari contractor of the Portuguese Government of Damaun and is in a position to make full inquiries. He has kindly procured for me the following list of the Governors of Damaun from 1559 to 1718 :

NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS OF DAMON.

- 1559 D. Diogo de Noronha.
- 1581 D. Filippe de Castro.
- 1581 Martin Affonso de Mello.
- 1593 D. Duarte Deça.
- 1607 Rui de Mello de Sampaio.
- 1673 Manoel Furtado de Mendonça.
- 1678 Manoel de Lacerda.
- 1698 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1698 D. Antonio de Menezes.
- 1702 João de Sousa Montenegro.
- 1705 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1709 Antonio da Silva Tello.
- 1710 Agostinho de Four Barbosa.
- 1713 Manoel Pereira de Castro e Abreu.
- 1718 Bertholameu de Mello Sampaio.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 162. ⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 163.

This list of governors does not contain any name like Karān. So, I conclude, that it is not a proper name, but simply a designation. Captain Kerān seems to “mean the great Captain.” The word Keran, I think to be Pers. gerān گران the great. In those times, there was the practice—and that practice prevails even now to a certain extent—of speaking about officers, not by their names, but by their designations; perhaps one may take the word to be the Indian word Karāni (कराणी), who is a person who has something to do with the ship. In that case, one may take the word from P. kerān کران *i. e.*, shore or bank. There is a Parsi family, known as Karāni, because the founder followed the profession of a karāni.

The Qisseh, while speaking of the ruler of Goa, says that his name was the great Vijril (cc. 499, 506, 528, 533, 535, 558, 562, 566):

ولی در گوا سرور ما سترگ
بود ویجریلش بنام بزرگ

This word Vijril (ویجریل) also does not seem to be a proper name. In the list of the Viceroy or governors of Goa, as given by Dewan Bahadur Ranchodbhai, ⁴⁷⁹ we do not find a name like that of Vijril. So, I think, that this word is an Indianized form of Viceroy. We find that, even Emperor Jehangir, in his Tuzuk, when he speaks of the Viceroy of the Portuguese at Goa, does not speak of him by his name, but as Warzā ⁴⁸⁰, a corruption of Vice-rei or Vico-rei, the Portuguese words for “Viceroy”. So, Vizril seems to be a form of Vice-rei or Vico-rei.

The Qisseh speaks of Rustam giving presents also to the Pādris or priests at Damaun. In those times, the pādris were very powerful. Besides attending to their ecclesiastical matters, they also attended to political matters. We find that, at times, being powerful in the Mogul Court, they exerted their influence in

⁴⁷⁹ स्पेन अने पोर्तुगल (Spain and Portugal) 1916.

⁴⁸⁰ Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 274.

favour of their country of Portugal. In Goa itself, we find, that, at times, its archbishops acted as Viceroys ⁴⁸¹ and, at times, they acted as colleagues in commissions, appointed to rule. For example, we find in the Commission of 1691-93, the Archbishop of Goa as a colleague of two other officers.⁴⁸² In 1717, the Archbishop Primate, Don Sebastioe de Andrade Persanha ruled as Governor of Goa.

XIII.

LATER EVENTS.

The Documents, referred to above, refer to later events—
Reference in Biddulph's "Pirates of Malabar," to Rustam's son. events after the death of Rustam Manock. The differences, which Rustam had with Sir N. Waite, continued, even after his death. Rustam and his transactions were misrepresented and his sons had to suffer for these. Their transactions have been, on the authority of the one-sided letters sent by the English factors opposed to him, misrepresented, and later writers have been misguided. For example, Col. Biddulph has been so misguided. We find the following reference in his "Pirates of Malabar": "A Parsee broker, named Bomanjee, was under arrest for fraud; Matthews demanded his surrender. The Council placed Bomanjee in close confinement in the fort, to prevent his being carried off. Matthews promised Bomanjee's sons, he would take one of them to England, and undertook to make the Directors see things in a proper light."⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹Vide the List of Viceroys of Goa given by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhod-bhai Udairam in his Gujarati book, named Spain and Portugal (1916), p. 265 seq. ⁴⁸² *Ibid*, p. 270. ⁴⁸³ "The Pirates of Malabar and an English-woman in India two Hundred Years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, p. 196. Vide my contribution on the subject in the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Bombay of 28th Nov. 1908. (For the contribution in connection with "Annesley of Surat and his times" vide *Ibid*, 22nd Nov. 1919). I remember writing to Col. Biddulph, at the time when his book was published, drawing his attention to the true state of affairs, and he kindly wrote in reply that he would make the correction if he published another edition of his book. Bomanjee had our sons. In the end, Matthews, instead of taking one of the sons, took Bomanjee, brother to London.

Col. Biddulph refers to one Matthews in the above passage.

Commodore Matthews. Charles Boonet, who was the factor of the Surat Factory and who had gone to England, in the post-script of a letter, dated 25th March 1725, addressed to Framjee and Bomanjee, the two elder brothers of Nowrojee who had gone to England, refers to the settlement of an affair between Nowrojee and commodore Matthews. Biddulph's Matthews is the same as this Matthews. Who was this Commodore Matthews and what was the affair between the two? I give below an account of Matthews, which seems to show that the affairs may be in respect to Commodore Matthews helping the brothers and especially in the matter of the costs of conducting Nowrojee to England. Nowrojee was the first known Parsee, or, perhaps, the first known non-official Indian to go from here to England from the Bombay side, and so, he required all possible help and advice in the voyage and in England. I think, that had it not been for the help of Matthews, perhaps Nowrojee would not have gone to England. Col. Biddulph seems to have done some injustice to him and to the sons of Rustam Manock. The decisions in the cases of both justify the positions they had taken up. I give below this account of Matthews, as given by Col. Biddulph in his *Pirates of Malabar*.

Commodore Thomas Matthews was asked in 1719⁴⁸⁴ to proceed to East India with a strong fleet to suppress the pirates of Madagascar. For his "brutal manners", he was nicknamed "Il Furibondo". He disregarded many of the orders of the Directors of the East India Company and came to Bombay on 27th September 1721. Though he was sent to the East to suppress piracy, it was suspected, that he was in league with the pirates. The ship Salisbury, in which, later on, Naorojee, the son of Rustam Manock, went to England, was in his squadron when he left England, but, being disabled in a storm, was delayed at Lisbon and followed him later. On coming to Bombay, he began quarreling with the Governor (Charles Boone). The *Angaria*⁴⁸⁵ at Gharía infested the sea with his piracy and the

⁴⁸⁴ The *Pirates of Malabar*, by Col. John Biddulph, (1907) p. 169, *seq.*

⁴⁸⁵ There was a line of Angarias. The first was Conajee (Kunhojee) *Angaria*. Then Manajee, his illegitimate son; then Sakhaji, Sambhaje and Yessaji (*Biddulph's Pirates of Malabar*).

English and the Portuguese jointly moved against him, marching, at first, towards Chaul which was in the hand of the Portuguese. The object was to attack Angaria's position on the coast of Colaba. "On the 30th October, a seven days' fast was ordered, to secure the Divine blessing on the undertaking, and the chaplain was directed to preach an appropriate sermon."⁴⁸⁶ Matthews was in command in this joint expedition, which ended in failure. Governor Boone, who ruled for 6 years, was succeeded by Phipps on 9th January 1722. In Boone's regime, a good wall was built round Bombay. When all ships fired salute to the Governor, Matthews did not do so. He aimed at private trade for his own benefit and sailed for Surat. A short time after returning to Bombay, he sailed for Madagascar. He had begun helping all those with whom the East India Company had a quarrel. From Madagascar he went to Bengal, and then came to Bombay, where he commenced quarrelling with the Governor and Council. Col. Biddulph speaks, as said above, of the help he gave to Rustam Manock's son, Bomanji, and adds: "He told the Council that they were only traders, and had no power to punish anybody. The Crown alone had power to punish. He (Matthews) represented the Crown and was answerable only to the King of England."⁴⁸⁷ In the end, it was not Bomanji's son that Matthews took with him to England, but it was his brother. "From Surat also he carried to England the broker's son, Rustamji Nowroji to worry the Directors."⁴⁸⁸ He arrived in England in July 1724. That, then, we must take also as the date of the arrival at England of Nowrojee who accompanied him. The Salisbury was the ship in which Nowrojee is said to have sailed. That ship joined, as said above, a ship of Matthew's squadron. On his arrival, the Directors, on reports from here, complained against him (Matthews) for misbehaviour before the naval authorities who asked for witnesses, but the same not being produced, the charge against him was dropped. Then, the naval authorities court-martialled him in December 1724. The Court was "unani-

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 175. ⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 196-197. ⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 199. The proper name is Nowroji Rustamjee Manockji (Rustam Manock), but as it often happens, even now, European writers, following the European method of nomenclature, mention the father's name first. *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet (p. 40), for a reference to Nowroji's visit to England.

mously of opinion, that the said Captain Matthews hath in all respects complied with his Instructions, except that of receiving Merchandise on board before the late Act of Parliament." However, the Court found him guilty of sending his "men irregularly to Merchant Ships.....(and) Resolved that he be Mulcted four Months' pay."⁴⁸⁹

In a letter of Sir Nicholas Waite, dated "Bombay Castle, March 3rd, 1706-7," to the New United Company, Sir Nicholas defends himself against the charge hurled against him, that it was he who had got Rustam Manock imprisoned. He says: "Yet after Rustomjee was dismiss and to obviate out Charge of Indigo over vallued &ca. joined with Sir John⁴⁹⁰ to corroborate what he had often aserted home, that he had been detained by my bribeing the Government when in Suratt: which if fact why was the Ffrench and Dutch under restraint or Sr. Jno⁴⁹⁰ &ca. not free and at liberty since my coming hether 9 ber 1704, to leave that Citty and Embarke when and where they pleased."⁴⁹¹

Col. Yule, while giving an extract from Sir Nicholas Waite's letter, dated 3rd March 1706-7, to the New Company, speaks of him as "malignant, wrong-headed, and muddle-headed Sir Nicholas Waite."⁴⁹²

Estimate of Sir Nicholas Waite's Character.

Governor Pitt in his letter dated 19th September

⁴⁸⁹ Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 200. Col. Biddulph seems to have been much influenced by the papers sent from the Indian factories to England, and thus, to have done some injustice both to Matthews and to Rustam Manock's sons, Bomanji and others. The above decision of the Court-martial, as given by himself, shows that Matthews, however hot-tempered he may have been, was working constitutionally, and so, he was found innocent. As to the injustice done by him to Rustam Manock, the letter from the Directors of the East India Company proves this.

⁴⁹⁰ Sir John Gayer.

⁴⁹¹ The *Diary of William Hedges (1681-87)* by Colonel Henry Yule (1887) Vol. II p. CXLVI.

⁴⁹² The *Diary of William Hedges during his agency of Bengal (1681-1687)* by Col. Yule (1888), Vol. II; p. CXLV.

1706 says : “ If your selves did hear what character in this place there is given of Bombay, and the person that is att the head of your Affairs there, you wou'd not blame his (Mr. Brabourne's) refusal,⁴⁹³ for I have hearde severall say that he had rather be a private Centenell in Fort St. George then to serve as Second under Sr. Nicholas ; and if itt be true, what all say that come thence, I can make no other judgement (I wish I may be mistaken) then that he'll ruine all, and yett I hear he's the New Company's Saint.”⁴⁹⁴

We gather following particulars about Bahmanji, the second son of Rustam Manock. In 1723, *i.e.*, two years after his father's death in 1721, he came to Bombay to seek redress for his brother Framji, who was confined at Surat by the Mogul Governor, Moumin Khan, at the instance of the English factors. On his coming to Bombay, he also was confined at his house by the officers of the East India Company here. He was ordered to be released in 1724 at the instance of the Home authorities.⁴⁹⁵ It seems that, since his release, he continued to live in Bombay. In 1739, we find him and his brother Framji as two signatories—the others being 22 Hindus and 5 Mahomedans—to a Memorial to the Government that in view of the Mahratha incursions on Bombay, better steps be taken for its protection and “ the wall may be fortified ”. The people of Bombay had already subscribed a sum for protecting Bombay by a good wall, and they said that, to bring up the sum to the required amount of Rs. 30,000, an extra cess of one per cent. may be charged for the time being.⁴⁹⁶

In 1742, he took an active part in Bombay in collecting money for a Tower of Silence at Bharthana near Surat.⁴⁹⁷ He is said to have been a man of great influence among the East India Company's officers here.⁴⁹⁸ He was a member of the then Parsee Panchayet of

⁴⁹³ He was desired to be the Deputy Governor under the New United Company. ⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. CXLVII.

⁴⁹⁵ *Vide* Document No. 1 for particulars.

⁴⁹⁶ Parsee Prakash I, pp. 853 54 *Vide* Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I. (1885), Introduction p. V.

⁴⁹⁷ Parsee Prakash I, p. 36.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid* p. 87, n. 2.

Bombay, in the regular foundation and administration of which he is said to have taken an active part.⁴⁹⁹ He went through the ceremony of Navarhood in Samvant 1757, i.e., 1701 A.C.⁵⁰⁰ He was adopted by his uncle Behram and so, in religious ritual, his name was mentioned as Bahman Behram. We find the entry about his Navarhood in the Naosari Fahrest (Samvat 1757) as follows: રોજ ૧૬ મા. ૮ એ. બેમન એ. બેરામ એ. માંનેક એ. ચાંદનાં એ. ફર-દુન ની. એ. બેરામ એ. માંનેક એ. ચાંદનાં અનોશરવાન ફા. રશતમ માંનેક ચાંદનાં I give my translation amplifying the abbreviations in full: Translation.—Roz 16, mah 8, (Samvat 1757). *Ervad*⁵⁰¹ *Beman Ostâ Berâm ostâ Mâneck. osta Chândnâ, osta Fardun* (in the) *nayat* (of) *Ostâ Beram ostâ Maneck, Ostâ Chândnâ anosharavân Farmeyashna Rustam Maneck Chândnâ.*

As to the eldest son Framji, he took an active part in the affairs of the Parsees at Surat and of Bombay (Parsee Prakash I, pp. 510, 850, 853). As said above, he was one of the Parsee memorialists to Government asking for a fortified wall in Bombay.

As to the youngest Nowroji, the pupil of the author of the Qisseh, on his return from England, the visit of which is referred to in the documents, he settled in Bombay. The Nowrojee Hill in Bombay commemorated his name. In his visit of England, he is said to have been accompanied by his sister's son Bhikhaji Kharshedji Wâchâ (P. Prakash I, p. 86, n. 1). He died on 13th April 1732.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ *Vide* the Navar Fehrest (નવસારોની વડી દરેમે હુરમાં થયેલા નાવરોની ફેરેસ્ત), compiled by Ervad Māhyār Naoroj Kutar, vol. I, p. 77. Entry No. 632.

⁵⁰¹ For this and other technical religious terms used in this passage of the Fehrest, *vide* the Introduction of the above Fehrest; *vide* also my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees."

APPENDIX I.

A FEW IMPORTANT DATES.

- (1) *Dates of a few important Events connected with the Trade of the West with the East, and connected with the History of India, before and during the times of Rustam Manock.*

The Crusades, which first brought the West into closer contact with the East	A. C. 1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama discovered the sea-route to India, and began trading with the East, thus breaking the monopoly of Genoa and Venice which traded by the land route	1500
Mahmud Bigarhâ of Gujarat (reigned 1459-1511) lost his fleet in a battle with the Portuguese, fought off Diu ⁵⁰²	1509
Goa captured by the Portuguese	1510
Baber proclaimed King at Delhi after the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat	1526
Accession of Humayun to the throne at Delhi ..	1530
Akbar born	1542
Humayun, returning from his flight to Kabul, reconquered India	1555
Akbar appointed Governor of Punjab	1555
Akbar came to throne	1556
Overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which gave "a serious blow to the prosperity" of Goa, which did business with it	1565
Father Thomas Steven, the first Englishman to land in India, landed at Goa, though not for trade (Died 1619)	1578
Portugal united with Spain under Philip II, a bigoted Catholic Monarch. This Union weakened Portugal.	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a Charter to a small Company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company	1581.

⁵⁰² *Vide* Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed. (1916), p. 133.

This Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others to the East, by the overland route of Alleppo, Basra and Hormuz, with a letter from Elizabeth to Akbar	A. C. 1583
They arrived in Akbar's Court	1585
Philip II's Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where seeds of the Reformation were first sown, revolted against his bigotry. So, Philip, to punish them for the Revolt, stopped their intercourse with Portugal from where they received the commodities of the East. So, the Dutch, being thus deprived from having Eastern commodities from Portugal, began trading independently with the East	1594
Private Dutch trading Companies united to form "The United East India Company of the Netherlands" ⁵⁰³	1602
Englishman Middenhall came to India, <i>via</i> Alleppo and Persia, at the head of a Commercial Union ..	1603
Akbar died	1605
William Hawkins, commanding Hector, the first English ship coming to India, arrived at Swally near Surat	1608
Hawkins arrived at Jahangir's Court at Agra with a letter from King James	1609
The English established a Factory at Maslipatam ..	1611
The first English Factory in Surat	1612
Aurangzeb born	1618
The people of Denmark sought trade with India and "founded a settlement at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district" (Later on, they occupied Serampore near Calcutta, but, in the end, sold their Indian settlements to the British and left)	1620
Shivaji born	1627
Rustam Manock born	1635
The English founded a Factory at Vizhingam in Travancore	1644

⁵⁰³ Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed., p. 163.

The Establishment of the East India Company in Madras	A. C. 1658
Murad, a son of Shah Jahan, attacked Surat, to have a big loan from the rich men of the city. November	1658
Aurangzeb imprisoned his father Shah Jahan and came to throne. (Ruled from 1658 to 1707 for 60 years) 31st July	1658
Formal grand Coronation Ceremony of the enthronement of Aurangzeb 5th June	1659
Aurangzeb abolished ancient Persian Calendar ..	1659
Shivaji killed Afzul Khan	1659
Bombay given as dowry to Charles II The cession was intended as "check on the Dutch power" ..	1661
Aurangzeb received the first of the Foreign missions or Embassies, the last being in October 1667 February	1661
Shivaji's First Sack of Surat	1664
Treaty of Purandhar between Aurangzeb and Shivaji	1665
Shah Jahan died	1665
Shivaji's flight to Raigarh from Aurangzeb's Court	1666
Bombay given by Charles II to the East India Co. ..	1668
Temporary Peace between Aurangzeb and Shivaji ..	1668
War again renewed	1670
Second Sack of Surat by Shivaji	1670
Imposition of Jazieh by Aurangzeb about	1672
Shivaji solemnly crowned	1674
Shivaji died 5th April	1680
Rustam Manock signs, as leader, a communal document relating to the Naosari and Sanjana priests. 6th June	1685
Establishment of the East India Company in Bombay	1687
Moghal Power at its zenith	1688

	A. C.
Calcutta founded	1690
Aurangzeb died	1707
Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his Qisseh	1711
Rustam Manock died	1721
(2) <i>A few dates about the English Factories in India.</i>	
The first English Factory or Trading Station established at Surat	1608
English Factory at Surat, "confirmed by Imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612" ⁵⁰⁴	1612
King James sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to Jahangir	1615
Sir Thomas Roe left India "He failed to obtain the Treaty which he asked for" ⁵⁰⁵	1618
A site given to the British at Madras, by "the Raja of Chandragiri, in consideration of a yearly rent" and a Conveyance was made "in favour of Mr. Francis Day," a Member of Council in the Agency at Masalipatam	1640
English Factory at Rajapore opened	1649
English factory of Rajapore sacked by Shivaji	1661
Bombay ceded to the English by the Portuguese	1661
English factory at Surat withstood Shivaji's first sack.	1664
English Factory at Karvar sacked	1665
Charles II leased Bombay to the East India Company for £10 a year. The transfer was made to Sir George Oxendon who was Governor of Surat from 1663 to 1669	1668
Aungier, governor of Surat Factory, from	1669-1677
English Factory at Surat about to be sacked second time by Shivaji	1670
Aungier came down to Bombay from Surat	1671

⁵⁰⁴ V. Smith's "The Oxford Student's History of India" 6th. ed., p. 164.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

A. C.

English Factory at Hubli sacked	..	..	..	1673
Aungier returned to Surat	..	..	..	1675
Bombay became the Head-quarters of the British in Western India in the time of Sir Josia Child	..			1683

(3) *A few dates about Bernier, who visited India in the time of Aurangzeb.*

Francis Bernier born	..	..	..	..	1620
Charles I. began to reign	..	..	..	..	1625
Bernier's travels in Europe	..	..	..		1647-50
Bernier passes Doctor's examination	..	..	..		1652
Bernier visits Palestine and Syria	..	..	..		1654
Goes to Egypt	..	..	..	..	1656-58
Reaches Surat in the end of 1658 or beginning of	..				1659
Engaged as Physician by Dara at Ahmedabad.				March or April	1659
Dara, having been compelled to run away, Bernier places himself under the protection of a Mogul noble					1659
Restoration of Charles II.	..	..	..	May	1660
Bernier at Delhi	..	..	..	1st July	1663
Bernier travels with the Noble in Aurangzeb's suite to Kashmir, starting on 14th December	..	..			1664
Arrives at Lahore	..	..	..	25th February	1665
At Allahabad on	..	..	..	6th December	1665
Bernier and Tavernier part company	..	..	..	6th January	1666
Bernier at Golconda	..	..	..	..	1667
Meets Chardin at Surat	..	..	..	..	1667
Embarks at Surat for Persia	..	..	..	..	1667
At Shiraz on	..	..	..	4th October	1667
Continues in Persia	..	..	..	..	1668
At Marseilles	..	..	..	April-May	1669

French King grants License for publishing his Travels	.. .. .	25th April	A. C. 1670
Visits England	.. .. .	.. ..	1685
Died	.. .. .	.. 22nd September	1688

(4) *A few dates relating to Aurangzeb.*

Aurangzeb born	.. .. .	24th October	1618
Imprisoned his father and came to throne.	.. .. .	31st July	1658
Grand formal Coronation	.. .. .	5th June	1659
Issue of Islamic Ordinances, <i>e.g.</i> , the cancelling of Naoroz	.. .. .	.. end of June	1659
Suleman Shelko, son of Dara, brought to Court in chains	.. .. .	27th December	1660
Murad murdered	.. .. .	.. 4th December	1661
Went to Mukteshwar to suppress brothers' rebellion in Bengal	.. .. .	13th November	1659
Returned to Delhi	.. .. .	13th February	1660
The first of the Foreign Ambassadors Mission arrived	.. .. .	.. February	1661
Started for Kashmir	.. .. .	8th December	1662
Returned from Kashmir to Delhi	.. .. .	.. January 19,	1664
Shah Jehan died	.. .. .	.. .. .	1665
Another Enthronement on Shah Jahan's death	.. .. .	.. March	1660
The Hoarding of the reigns of 3 Emperors which were removed from Agra to Delhi were brought back to Agra in 1,400 carts	.. .. .	.. May	1666
The Court returned to Delhi where it remained for 7½ years (two years in this period Dec. 1669 to Oct. 1671 were spent at Agra)	.. .. .	.. October	1666
Imposed Jazieh	.. .. .	.. about	1672
The Visit of the English Ambassador with Rustam Manock at his camp	.. .. .	.. about	1701
His Death	.. .. .	.. .. .	1707

A. C.

- (5) *A few important dates about the Rule of the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpuri, which was visited by Rustam Manock, and the adjoining country.*

An Abyssinian colony of Siddis at Rajpur and the adjoining country Early in the 16th Century.

One of them became the Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri under the Ahmednagar Sultanate. Early in 17th Century.

When Ahmednagar fell, the Siddi became somewhat independent and was recognized by the Bijapore Sultanate as its representative 1636

Yusuf Khan Seedi ruled at Janjira 1642-55

He was succeeded by Fath Khan 1655-57

The Revolution 1670

Fath Khan imprisoned by the Siddis for offering to surrender to Shivaji, and the Siddi fleet transferred from the overlordship of Bijapore to that of the Delhi Emperor 1670

Siddi Sambal created Admiral and Siddi Qasim and Siddi Khairyat, commanders of Janjira and land territory of Rajpur, respectively. The title of Yaqut Khan conferred on successive admirals 1671⁵⁰⁶

Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, re-captured Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Shivaji's hand during the Holi festival March 1671

Siddi Sambal, the admiral, returned to Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Surat May 1673

Siddi Sambal attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan in the Ratnagiri district March 1674

Siddi Sambal removed from Admiralship by the Moghal Emperor and Siddi Qasim (Yaqut Khan) appointed Admiral and governor of Danda Rajpuri May 1676

Siddi Qasim (Yaqut) compelled Shivaji to raise the Siege of Janjira December 1676

⁵⁰⁶ Prof. Sarkar says it was in or after 1674.

Siddi Sambal had not delivered as yet the fleet to	A. C.
Yaqut. Both met at Bombay and came to blows	
and, finally, through the mediation of the English	
Council, the quarrel was settled and Qasim was	
installed as admiral October	1677
Qasim left Bombay with the fleet .. November	1677
Qasim returned to Bombay with his fleet for rest	
during the Monsoons April	1678
Shivajee sent 4,000 men to Panvel, to burn from there	
Qassim's fleet. They failed July	1678
Siddi Qasim plundered Shivaji's Alibag coast	
country	1678
Siddi Qasim inactive in Bombay, for want of funds	
from the Mogals at Surat to pay his men, &c. ..	1679
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi (Hen-	
neri) 9th January	1680
Qasim burnt many villages at Pen .. February	1680
Qasim joined the English in the attack upon Shivaji's	
island of Kenneri November	1680

THE PERSIAN TEXT OF THE QISSEH OF RUSTAM MANOCK

BY MOBAD JAMSHED KAIKOBAD.

بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان

این قصه سیمت رستم مانک باشنده بشهر سورت

تصنیف موبد جمشید کیقباد

بنائید یزدان و پروردگار	یکی قصه نو کنم آشکار
که جز نام او هیچ کار انصرام	نگردد بخوبی و نیکی تمام
خدایکم آورنده چرخ برین	نکارنده اختران و زمین
چو چاچی کمان حقه سبز را	ز پشت دوتا ساختش داورا
چنان حقه کردن طبق بر طبق	بیاراستش نو بتان توطق
نگار کواکب بر آنها نکاشت	حرکت ازان چند را بر گذاشت
چو از مهر و ماه و ز بهرام و تیر	ز اورمزد و ناپید و کیوان پیر
کمی و فزونی گیتییش داد	ز گردان شان شر و نیکیش داد
ابر مایها مسره خاک را	معلق نمود ایزد برقرا
ابا او مکان و جهان و زمان	نمودش هم از قدرت خود عیان
بکرد از مولید آباد ارض	شعاندرو از مه و هور ارض
همه بنده مخلوق و هم کاینات	مر از آخشیشان بکردش ثبات
ز یک قطره آب منی جسم و جان	بواطه شد از قادر غیبدان
پدید آورید از عدم در وجود	ز ناچیز چیزی پویدا نمود
که او هست بر هستی خود کمال	خدایکم بیچون و هم بی همال
خداوند رادبی و هم راستی	نفور از هواپس و از کاستی
خدایکم بر دو جهان پایدار	توانا و پانا و آموزگار

خدايک پاکست و فیروزگر
 خدايک هر وسپ آگاه راز
 خدايک بر هر کسان مهر کبر
 خدايک پاینده پروردگار
 خدايک جان داد و هم عقل و رای
 خدايک ویزست باداد و دین
 خدايک آرنده عرش برین
 خدايک سفا و فر شو تناست
 خدايک دایم بود بی زوال
 خدايک جز خویش نیست کار
 خدايک عامست هر روز و شب
 خدايک آيختن و بی نیاز
 ازان داور پاک هر دو سرا
 که از یاری او سرانجام کار
 خدایا کن از کرم لطف زیاد
 فزون شد عیان نظم این گفتا
 ز تو التجا دارم ای کردگار
 از پیرا بده دانش افزون مرا
 بود زهنما هر که را عقل و هوش
 ازان بر من افزا خود را نکو
 ده بنده کی ام نمایی نکو
 خجل کشتم از کجاده خود و ناه
 که تو آفریننده ما بنده ام
 خره و ریومند و هم دادگر
 ز فهم وز دانش بود کار ساز
 خدايک هر بنده را دستگیر
 هم او بنده را خرم آموزگار
 پذیرنده عذر و مشکل کشای
 همو عادلست و هم او پیش بین
 بود فرش بههاد قابان ترین
 گراگر گرو آچم و ورسناست
 رحیم و عظیمست و هم پر نوال
 بجز نیکیش نیست اندیشه باز
 نه یگذره خواب و خورش و طلب
 توانا و داناتر و کار ساز
 بخوایم مدد اندرین ابتدا
 رسد با مراد دلم آشتا
 بجمشید بن موبد کیقباد
 بکن رحم بر روح آن ایزدا
 که این نظم من به شود آبدار
 که پایان شود خوب این ماجرا
 بدارین می یابدش کام خوش
 فزا نیز اندر دلم بش اشو
 دل تیرگی ام ز آتش بشو
 به بخشا خدایا من پر گناه
 کتم تو به نودت که شعله ام

ز انعام لطف تو ای ذوالجلال
 کشا قفل فوآد من از کلید
 که سازم یکی قصه رستمی
 کفون ناظم این نظم پرداز کن
 سخن گفته جمشید را نو بساز
 که داند که فردا چه خواهد بودن
 کرایین داستان از تو شد آشکار
 هر آنکس که بهدین بخواند مرا این
 بماند که تا جاودان نام تو
 شوی نامور در کهان و مهان
 بدرگاه ایزدان شوی بیگناه

این بیان در باب وصف و بخشش سیت رستم مانک

کفون قصه سیت رستم شنو
 که او پور مانک ز بی یادگار
 نژادش بد از تخمه موبدان
 دل پاک و ویژه قن و مهربان
 که باشنده در شهر سورت هم او
 سراج مجالس زرتشتیان
 همش گره و باصر سروران
 هم او مردم دیده مزکیان
 همش کان لطفست و مردانکی
 قدر دان غربا و روشن ضمیر
 مبارک خصال و فصاحت بیان
 ملذذ نیازان و هم بیکسان
 شنیده بودی دیگر این هم شنو
 خردمند و داناتر و نامدار
 کرانمایه دار و نیک و کاردان
 نورزیده اند دشمنی باکسان
 نگو نیت و خلق و هم راستگو
 بود متکاش زینهاریان
 یتیمان و بیچاره را پروردان
 بلند حرمت و آصف و پاکبان
 بقدر داری و فرزانیکی
 رفیع اقتدارست و بخت منیر
 سلیم الطبع داد و شیرین زبانی
 ستوده شدش هر بجای و مکان

هم از کنج احسان و دریا نوال
 هر جاست مشهور آوای آن
 عیان و نهان بر کهان و مهان
 نوازش کند بیحدش با نوال
 رساند همه خورد و پوشیده شان
 بمقدارش هر سال بخشد که چند
 شود جان شان شاد و ایمان تر
 بهر کار کفره کند جان فدا
 نماید تصرف بس آن مردم
 تعجب شود هم ز دیدار اوی
 بشوکت چو کیخسرو و به منش
 چو تهمورسش کام و هم نامجوی
 بشان جهان پهلوان رستمش
 بد و نامبردار با برز و بال
 بدش هم سر زابل و کابلی
 درین گاه کند وصف این هر کسان
 مزاین رستم مانکست نسل کی
 بدش هم سر بهدیغان وردان
 شد ستمش اکابر ابر که و سر
 شدش نامبردار اندر انام
 همه بهدیغان راست بس جابه و آبه
 بده خسروان و یلان نپرد

بود چشم دانائی و هم زلال
 که از بخشش و نیکیش بیکران
 سخنی همچو حاتم بود این زمان
 دهد هر کسی راز و سیم و مال
 بهر سال در خانه بیچارگان
 دهد هر کرا خرج باید که چند
 از آن غله و کسوت پر ز زر
 هم او میکند پستی دین خدا
 زر و سیم را برره دین به
 هم از چنین کار و کردار اوی
 که جمشید شاه در رخ روشنش
 چو شاه آفریدون بخلقش نکوی
 بفرزانی و بهمت همش
 که در پیشگاه کیان پور زال
 سر پهلوانان ایران زمی
 بایران بدش وصف در آن زمان
 که شانش درین حال فرخنده پی
 بهندوستان سرور موبدان
 ز فرمان ایزدان بهر شهر و ده
 بسی نامی و نامور نیکفام
 که در قوم دیگر از و فخر و قاب
 ز گاه کیومرث تا یزدگرد

مرد آنکسان بل از و زنده افد
 از و شاد مانند شان در بهشت
 بکردست پیدا درین روزگار
 ببودست بافر و با دستکاه
 بمحفوظ داری و شادش بقا
 بود سازی عمرش درازی و سوز
 بکنج و مراد دلش با امان
 ورا بخت بیدار پاینده دار
 بداریش با شوکت خسروی
 بداری درخشان چو بدر مُنیر
 بدادیش تا جاودان شاد کام
 برستم بدرکاه ایزدان قبول
 مدامش بداراد با نیاز و شاد
 اشوفر و هران یادکاهش بباد
 بهر سال دولت فزاینده باد
 بماناد دایم ابا شاد کام
 بهر کام باداش بالا سخن
 ببادا فزونتر بفضل و هنر
 بماناد دایم به بهدین چست
 فزونتر بباداش تا زندگی
 بماناد مرا این ورا بر زبان
 بهر روز بادا بجهانش فرود
 زبس گرفته اش دیو ناچاره باد

مر آن خسروان کیان مرده اند
 که او هست زان شاه ویلان سرشت
 ازیرا که زان شاه ورا کردگار
 که در شهر بندش تو کوی که شاه
 الهی ز بلیات دوران ورا
 که تا بر فلک انجم و ماه و هور
 مُخلّد بداریش هر نو جوان
 کفی دشمنانش نکند سار و خوار
 ز دولت ز ابفاش پشت قوی
 همیشهش پر از عقل و روشن ضمیر
 بهر شهر هر جای دادیش نام
 کلام دعا این ببادا وصول
 خداوند کیتی نکهدار باد
 هم امشاسفندان پناهش بباد
 سپهرش مددکار پاینده باد
 ز فرزند فرزند او نیکنام
 بر شاه و میران و هر انجم
 همیشهش بهر جاش فیروزگر
 بتن زورمند و بجان تند رست
 بهایکی و صافی و در بندگی
 همه زند و وستا بروز و شبان
 خرد آسپیده و کوشو سرود
 دفع از تفس دیو پتیاره باد

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه در زمان شاه
اورنگ زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود ازان
جزیه پارسیانرا مذکور سیت رهانیده

دیگر داستان مر این وصف نو
که در دور سلطان اورنگ زیب
ازان هر غریب و یتیم و کسان
هر از جور جزیه هم دردمند
بفریاد و زاری بگفتند شان
ز جزیه بما بس ستم میرسد
پرشان و حیران نماید فزون
بداریم ای رستم امید ازان
رهانی و هم داد گیری رما
چوبشنید رستم بگفتار شان
برای رهانیدنش جست کار
که رفتش بدیوان میر بزرگ
کرفتش دگر نیز بار گران
که از سویی خود دادنش سیم وزر
رهانید شانرا ز ظلم کران
نجاتی چو شان یافت از جزیه خویش
نه ای رستم نیکنام بزرگ
ز اقبال تو خانمانهای ما
ز فروخ تلفش نیز جزیه تمام
خدا دارد آبادت اقدر عوام
بگویم ز جم گفتهایش شنو
بزنشتمان جزیه شد بانیب
بودند حیران ز ظلمش بجان
بدرگاه رستم فراز آمدند
که ای رستم مانک پاک جان
زن و بچه را درد و غم میرسد
کند مردم آزاریش پر زبون
که از جزیه ظالمان زمان
کفی چاره جان ما از عطا
بخاطر بیاورد رحمت کران
به تدبیر نکو پر از یادگار
بداده ورا کفچ چندین سترک
ابر دمه خویش از طرف شان
پذیرفت هر سال چندی بمر
معافش کنانید هر جزیه شان
هم کس دعا کوشدش صد زبیش
رهانید مارا ز رنج سترک
برستند و ورنه مکانهای ما
نمیداد و بوده بسختی مدام
تسلل دولت رسد تا

که از تو برستیم و یا بیم امان
شوی نامور در کهان و مهان
چو از کنج مازا خریدی و باز
پر از مهر آزاد کردی بنغاز
چنان کرد احسان بر ما هم
دبی حال رخصت اگر ما هم
رویم بر مکان خود از شاد دل
شویم در حقت در دعا مشغول
زر رخصت گرفتش بس آنگاه تمام
برفتند با آفرینها کلام

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه چندین مردمان
از قوم جد دینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده
بودند اوشان را نیز مذکور سیت از بندرهای نیده

چو آوازه بخشش رستم این
در افواه عالم شده بآفرین
ثنا خوان شدند هر کسش جابجا
ز بهت بلندش تعجب بسا
وزان پس بسی مرد قوم دیگر
که بودند غربا و ناچار تر
بدر بار حاکم ببودند قید
مران نیز از جزیه بودند صید
زن و نوردیدان شان پر ز زار
بر رستم مانک نامدار
بیاورد شان داد خواهی که ما
کرفتاریم بس سختی که ما
که مارا نبوده توان جزیه داد
ازان باب سختی بما بر کشاد
که والد و هم شوهران مرا
کرفتند در قید بس با جفا
مُحْصَل بما نیز بکداشتند
و بی مایه زر نباشد برم
مُحْصَل هم بکیرند هر روز روز
مرا ازان رستم بس ایذاست
کرم ساز و بهم دستگیری ما
نقیر نجاتی ما چاره جوی
بماند جهان نیست جز این نکوی

که بیچاره و ناتوان لاغریم
 شکم پر نشد هم ز مزدوریم.
 چو بشنید رستم ازیشان سخن
 بیادورد لطف کرانش بتن.
 ز نظر کرم بخشش پیش را
 بنوشیروان نایب خویش را
 بفرمود او را که از کنج گیر
 زرش چند باید بدیوان امیر
 برود هر چه باشد مر او را بلیغ
 زر جزیه ایشان بده بیدریغ
 بکن راضیش این هم را ز قید
 پس آن موجب حکم سازید کار
 چو فارغ شدند آن هم از جفا
 ز عزت بر سیت ایستاده شان
 که با پسران دولمت ایزدا
 هزاران دعا در حقش برده شان.
 که ما از ایذا و بلاي سترک
 باآباد داراد و زی قا بقا
 هم پس اجازت ز سیتش بخواست
 رهاکشم از لطف توای بزرک
 وزانجا بخندان و نازان براه
 وداع کرد شانرا ارادت ز راست
 ز جمشید ای رستم نیک کار
 شدند آن همه کس بآرامگاه
 که در نظم صد در نوشت اینچنین
 کلام تو این خوب را باد دار
 که از ظلم جزیه رهاوند کسی
 کتاب بود در ره پاکدین
 دهد خاص او را خدای جهان
 کتب بیابد مر او مژد نیکي بسی
 بزرگشت اسفتمانش روان
 بلند تر بپنو کرو ثمان مکان
 المیرا ازین کفره برترین
 بسی جاه یابد پر از شادمان
 مراد دلت هم برآرد بزود
 ز ایزدان بیایی بسی آفرین
 شود یار تو ایزد امشاسفند
 بدارین ازین فیض یابی فزود
 نصاید فوهر پناه پلنگ

درباب اینک هرگاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکرخود
 در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوی آمده بود و زرتشتیان
 را بسیار عذیت رسانیده بود و بر او شان خراج ظلمانه
 نهاده بود در انوقت از طرف هم زرتشتیان سیت
 رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده هم را از خراج ظلمانه
 رها نموده بود

بگویم مر این داستان دگر	ز کوش خرد بشنو و هم فکر
که آمد بر شهر سیوه گنی	بحشم فراوان چو اهریمنی
زن و مرد با کودکان شیر خورد	ز هر چهار طرفش گرفتند و برد
نمودند در حبس شان چون اسیر	نبودند شان جز خدا دستگیر
قماس و زر و سیم و کالا و جنس	بپردند غارت زهر بیت انس
وزان کیر و دارش فتناده گریغ	بشهر و بده و بزله بلیغ
برافروخت آتش بهر جایها	ز ظلمش ستوه آمدند هر تنها
فتادند در عاجزی چند کس	مراز ترس زر داده ظلمانه بس
به بند افتاده بودند آن کسان	بگویانش بر نوردید و زنان
که از بند ناپاک سیوه گنی	رسد ظلم مارا بس از بدقنی
نجاتی بجز ظلمانه بداد	نباشد زدست بد و بدنهاد
چو بشنید آنها همی ماجرا	بماتم فتادند اندر سرا
که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش	ز غارت هم از سوز خانه بتوش
همه باتن خویش پژمرده دل	شکسته بودند حال شان پر خجل
به بیچارگی شان بزاری و آه	بر رستم مانک داد خواه
همه آمدند و نمود التماس	که از ظلم سیوه گنی باهراس

شدستیم زخمي و بیچاره حال
 گرفتندش هر مردم خانه ما
 بهر مرد ظلمانه نا خلف
 بما هیچ طاقت نباشد که آن
 چو اهریمنی آمدش بدتری
 ابا اوسپاه هست پنجم هزار
 یکی آهوزیبان دگر دیویان
 همه موضع و سرزمین هر دو مرد
 زر و زیور و جامه و دانه
 ازان پس دران خانه آتش زدند
 دران چندتن را هم از جان بکشت
 ببردند همچون اسیران به بند
 فتادند در زاری و هم نیاز
 وزانجا چو ما چند بگریختیم
 بسی رنجیم پر ز درد و غمش
 بورت آمده ایم وز اقبال تو
 بدانیم تحقیقیم نا امید
 که بیچارگان را تویی چاره ساز
 ازان رستما دستگیریم کنی
 که تا جاودان نام نیکم ازین
 وزین پس بماند سخن یادگار
 دگر هم همی داستان زند
 که از کج خود داده بود زالطافات

که تاراجش اسباب ما کرد و مال
 ز ستم نهایت زنفش فرا
 نموده بخوابد زر ده الف
 زر ظلمانه بدادیم توان
 شده دشمن شهر و ده یکسری
 سر لشکرش دو بود کیر و دار
 بودش دشمن کل زرتشتیان
 ز غارت زیادت بویرانش کرد
 ببردند غارت ز هر خانه ها
 بسوزاد و تاراج کرده شدند
 کسان چند را بسته دست و پشت
 بسی رنج و ظلمش درانجا کشند
 جز ایزد کسی یاری شان نسا
 درین چند زخمي هم آمیختیم
 بامید بریم ازین ماتمش
 پر امید داریم ز املال تو
 نکردنده باز از حضور سعید
 بوی مستدامت غریبان نواز
 رهایش کن از بند اهریمنی
 بماند هم کس کنند آفرین
 نباشد که چون رستم نیککار
 چو رستم مژوبت که کس نه کند
 هم بندگان را نمودن لجام

ز هر گونه دشواریهای کران
 همی چند گفتارهای بزار
 بخاطر برآورد رحمت کران
 کزین نیکویی خواهد ماند ابد
 ازین دویک از غیب آید عیان
 همی دولت کیتی پر عفا
 که این زر نمانده بکس پایدار
 چنینست دنیای دون کاروبار
 بدل آنچنان کرد اندیشه کار
 رهانید شانرا پر از ظلم افس
 پس آنکه باقبال رستم هم
 کنون جم بگوید درینجا چنین
 چو بدکار افراسیاب درشت
 دران حین هم چند دانا کسان
 همان هر یکی را بکردن زدند
 بآن وقت اغریث نیک کار
 که باشد همی یکسر بیگناه
 ازین گفته اغریث افراسیاب
 نمودند شان را به بند حبس باز
 بس اغریث از رحمت اختتام
 بطلبید کشوره را با خدم
 رهانید ایرانیان را ز قید
 بحسب نوشتش پیامد مراد
 رهانید او از بلای کران
 چو بشنید آن رستم نامدار
 که این مردمان را بیاید رهان
 که دو چیز ماند سر از نیک و بد
 ز بعد گذشتن بمردم بسان
 بامروز باشد بفردا فدا
 نکردند چرخ هم برقرار
 ازان به که نیکی بود یادگار
 بدادش بران مبلغ ده هزار
 هم را بدادش خور و نقل و لبس
 نمود آفرین و شدند آن رسم
 که بعد از مینوچهر شاه کزین
 ششم نوذر تاجور را بکشت
 گرفتار بردند همراه آن
 نمودش اشارت که بر هر شدند
 بشم آمده خواسته زینهار
 مکن جان شان را تو هرگز تبا
 بدل مهر آورد و کشت از عتاب
 سپرده باغریث سرفراز
 پیغامی فرستاد بر زال سام
 که او آمده با سپاه عجم
 ببرد آنکه افتاده شان همچو مید
 رسیدهش بایرانیان رو برو

چو اغریث آگاه ازین ماجرا
 شده از نهان چاره جستش فرا
 که رفتش ابا چند مردانه آب
 بهیچک بهانه بافراسیاب
 درانگاه رهانیده کشواد کرد
 هم قید یافرا بزابل ببرد
 چو زمین کار آگاه شد افراسیاب
 باغریث آورد او بس عتاب
 بزودی جواز از میان برکشید
 بزد بر جگر گاه و شکمش درید
 دو پاره نمودش ابا ذوالفقار
 تنش را بخاک اندر افکند خوار
 ایا دانشی مرد بسیار هوش
 چو اغریث در جهان نیک کوش
 بباب نیکوی چه شیرین کلام
 بگفتست فردوسی نیک‌نام
 که تخم بدی تا توانی مکار
 مجوی بجز نیکوی زینهار
 بکیتی دران کوش تا بگذری
 سرانجام نیکیت با خود بری
 همی کفج و دیفار و خانه بلند
 نخواهد بدن مر ترا سودمند
 اگر چرخ گردان کشد زمین تو
 سرانجام خاکست بالین تو
 چودانی که این است ناپایدار
 همان به که نیکی بود یاد کار
 که اغریث از کار خود نیکوی
 بهشت برین یافت با خوشروی
 وز ابتر بوز زیدن افراسیاب
 کشد تا حشر در جهنم عذاب
 اماثل این داستان آن جهت
 بدادست تا اذربین جاگهت
 چو اغریث آن سیت رستم بمهر
 ز بند گنی سیوه ناپاک چهر
 همه را رهانید ازدست خویش
 فرستاد زاده بهشتش به بیش
 چنین بخشش و هم مثبت چنان
 نه کس بر غریبان کلد بیگمان
 کزین کار کرده بجایده نام
 به نیکی بمانده عیان والسبلام

درباب اینک سیت رستم مانک بهر جای چای و پولهای
 خوبنا کرده و باغها و ایوانهای نو ساخته بود و بکار
 ثواب و نیکوی فرض خود را ادا کرده بود

دگر کار اوقات رستم به بین
 که از جای راه تبه مردمان
 بران جایهای ده پر خراب
 ز سنگ و ز کچ جسد ها را به بست
 کزان یافت راحت به مردمان
 دیگر بود خارج و ویران زمین
 دران بوستان و چمنهای خوب
 چنان باغ و ایوانهای شهی
 که باغ ارم را فرامش کند
 بماند دران کر کسی دردمند
 ز گلهای رنگین دران کونه کون
 البر شاخ اشجارش مرغان سرود
 چنان اندران باغا بوی نغز
 دران است کاریز فوارها
 کزان بوی باغات و آرای کاخ
 که نونو مکانها دران جمله باغ
 بر افراشت آن کر ز کچ بارخام
 ر آینه ها و ز بلورینهایش
 چو فردوس بزم نشین کاه او
 برش کن ز جانت هزار آفرین
 بحیران بودند آمد و رفتگان
 به بیشه و هم بر لب رود آب
 ز کار محکم بمهراب پست
 برستند از سختی بیکران
 بکردش بران باغا چون نکین
 مکانهای زیبا بکردش عجب
 نمودش چو فردوس منزلکی
 ز دیدار آن جان و دل خوش کند
 ز فضل خدا باشدش سودمند
 باشجار ثمرش بود بی نمون
 نمایند دایم بیالا فزود
 کزان بوی میکرد آسوده مغز
 عجایب تماشای کلزارها
 بود پیر یکبار برنا شماخ
 درخشنده محنش که چون شب چراغ
 چو کوهری رنگ و نقشش تمام
 ز تمخواب اندوده اسباب جاش
 نوکوی که انجم سرشته درو

برای خودش داشت و هم‌رهان
 نمایند هم شادی و جشنگاه
 بباغ فراخ و بجای سترک
 برای نهادست زرتشتیان
 کند کار شادی و جشن کران
 بنوازند و بازند بآن جایگاه
 دران باغ یابند هرکس امان
 بشهر و بده و بدشت سترک
 بهر جا متینش مرات المثل
 کنانید حوضهای خوردش بره
 چونندید و ویسپرد و یشت و هاست
 همان مستمر تابعاً بود بس
 هم از نیت هراشو فروهران
 کنانید با و ندیداد و یزش
 چه گیتی خریدی و هم نوزودی
 بسی کرد و هم می‌گفتش فرض خویش
 ز شادی پوران شان بد به بیم
 همان از کجا کرد شادی بتوش
 ز کفخ خودش داد و شان ساخت کار
 که شادی پوران غربا نمرد
 بهر حال با آب میداشت شاد
 نموده و داده حقوقات شان
 بدادش خلعات و پشمیز پیش

ز کوهر درخشانتر ایوان آن
 دران باغ تجار و میران شاه
 چو مذبور دیگر مکان بزرگ
 بکار وقف کرده آنرا عیان
 ازان یکسر ادنی و عالی بران
 به یشتند هم ایزدان را بگاه
 برفته بکار خود آرند شان
 دیگر از برای ثواب بزرگ
 به بلدش چاهای آب زلال
 بایوانها آبخور یکسره
 دیگر کار گرفته در مهر هاست
 بران دایمش راغباً بود بس
 که هر روز از نیت ایزدان
 درون و میزد آفرینکانش
 ازین جز هم کارها بدر بدی
 چه دیگر که زنده روان کار کیش
 دیگر آنکه بد هر غریب و یتیم
 که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش
 بران هر کس آنرا زر بی‌شمار
 چنین کار و بارش بهرسال بود
 دیگر دستور و موبدان را براد
 بشرط بهی کیش خدمات شان
 ابر کاه تهنیت خانه خویش

هزیزش ابر داشته مزکیان
 بکرده فدا بر ره دین روان
 همیشه بودش پیش راسنی
 بماندیش دور از ره کاستی
 مدامی بهی خواسته هرکرا
 نورزیده هرگز ره بدترا
 بهر جاش آورد پیمان بجا
 بهر دم خدا را بیاد آورا
 بران کارها کرفه میکرد زود
 کزان در جهان نیکنامی فزود
 کمر بسته زودش بجا آورده
 بفردا همان کار نسیارده

در وصف سیت رستم مانک و سه فرزندانش را بیان کرده است

بگوید جم کیقباد این چنین
 که بخشش یزدان برستم به بین
 که دادست سه کوهر بی بها
 ابر یکدیگر بر تر و کیمیا
 چو خورشید پر نور و یزدان برست
 بعلم و ادب دانش برترست
 از آنها فرامرز فرخنده ده بی
 که مهر نکو خوی مانند کی
 چوسرود دیگر بهمن ره منش
 زهی حشمت و مکنت و به کفش
 سیم هست نوروز فرخنده نام
 تن نورمند و زهی پاک کام
 سه پورانش مسطور چون ماه و هور
 ازانست نوروز هاوشت من
 بشان پدر داردش خوب چهر
 مبارک کند ایزد ابغان و را
 بدادست ایزدان و راجفت پاک
 دل پاک و هم راست گفتار نیک
 سعادت عیان اندرست سیت را
 بدادش چنین زوجه نیک بی
 بدادریغ کزان ماندش دل خوشی
 که بخشش یزدان برستم به بین
 ابر یکدیگر بر تر و کیمیا
 بعلم و ادب دانش برترست
 که مهر نکو خوی مانند کی
 زهی حشمت و مکنت و به کفش
 تن نورمند و زهی پاک کام
 بسا معروفی یافته در دهور
 فزون پر شکوه بهره عقل و فن
 وفا و نکو سیرت و علم و مهر
 بکاشانه نور دیدان فرا
 که هست آن رتن بانوی زیناک
 زهی نیک خلقست و کردار نیک
 که پروردگار زمینی و سما
 هم ابغان چنان هوشمند و چو کی
 که اقدام ابناست بس مروشی

کزین دولتش تا ابد پایدار
 بماند بفزند پوران قرار
 نفاکوی جمشید اکنون چنین
 ابر سیت رستم کند آفرین
 که شان کیومرث و هوشنگ شاه
 بوی نام بردار و پر عز و جاه
 چو جمشید و تهمورس پاک جان
 بیادا هم رسم را پروران
 چو شاه آفریدون فرخ کفاد
 پر آباد کیتی و دشمن زناده
 زهی دستکاه چو مینوچهر و زو
 بود و کفان زبردست عدو
 بیادا چو کاوس و هم کیقباد
 نکپان مردم و آرای داد
 چو کیخسرو و سیاوش پراشو
 تن پاک و احراز شرعی بشو
 چو کشتاسپ لهراسپ و اسفندیار
 بیادا چو بهمن سعادت فرا
 متانت دهنده بهی کیش را
 بوی چون شه اردشیر کزین
 بیادا چو نوشیروان قباد
 چو پرویز خسرو بوی ارجمند
 بدانان را بخوابنده و اهل دین
 بیادا بشان شه یزدگرد
 نمایند عدل و بخشش و داد
 چو دستور اردای ویراف پاک
 بفر فردان و قدر بلند
 بشان آذرباد ماراسفند
 بواج و نکو سیرت و نیک مرد
 چو جاماسپ داننده رمزها
 بوی محتبی و رخ تابناک
 چو طوس و زوز و وزیر دلیر
 کفنده بیادا عبادت و بند
 چو کرشاسپ اسرت جهان پهلوان
 خردمند تر باد و عاقل ترا
 چو میلاد و کیو و فرامرز کرد
 بهمت قوی باد و روشن ضمیر
 چو کودرز هفتاد پور نکو
 جوانمرد بادا و هم نیکنام
 بشان پشوتن اشو دو جهان
 بیادا ز بن برکفنده بدان
 چو کورنای فرزند یابنده شو
 بوی کام یابنده و دستبرد
 بوی دیر زیونده و شادمان
 فرونی فرزند یابنده شو
 بوی دیر زیونده و شادمان
 ابا نور دیدانت آمین بود

در باب اینکه انگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش
به هندوستان در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانک را
با او ملاقات شد

ز جمشید این داستان دگر	بابواب انگریز بشنو مگر
که از ملک خود آمدش چو بفر	بسورت ابا کنج و دینار و زر
بکشتی ز دریای آب بزرگ	برهند با کاروان سترک
بملبوس سوداگری بلند	بسوداگری آمدش ارجمند
باو سیت رستم ملاقات کرد	کله پوش ازان خوش زیادات کرد
تودد فزودش بایام چند	زیکرنکی یکدل شد و سورمند
پسش کرد دلالت خود سیت را	هم کار و بارش سپرده و را
ازان پس بپاشنده انگریزیان	نموده تفحص عالی مکان
پس از جستجوی مکان بزرگ	بلند و فراز و دراز سترک
بسی خوشنما همچو ایوان جم	بباغ فراخش چو جای ارم
کشی دلان بر لب رود بار	بود پر ز آرایش و پر نکار
که ماند درانجا مریضی اگر	بزودی شود درد آن دورتر
کراز مرض گرمی کس عاجز بود	بران هفتم ماندنش به شود
کس از درد چشم ارکند بس نغان	شود به و را از هوا خوب آن
برکات آنجای بد همچنان	که تبار و باکس غریب و کسان
دران مانده سوداگری کار خویش	کند یا دیگر پیشم کار خویش
و را داده از غیب پروردگار	فتحمندی و هم شده بختیار
چنین جای رنگین و آب و هوا	پراز بس افادات و وصف و ثفا
یکی بود تبار سورت درون	ببودش همان جا چو جنت نمون
که نام و را حاجی حجاج بیخ	عیانست و مشهور جای بلیخ

کلم پوش را آن مکانش بزرگ دهانید او از کرایه سترک
 که در سال مُبلغ آن سه هزار معین نمودش کرایه بکار
 کلم پوش پس حسبند بیرخویش بیاراست آنرا ابا صرف بیش
 که کویا شد آن لایق شاهوار درخشان ز آرایش بیشمار
 پس اقبال روشن نموده دران مر انگریز را ایزد غیبه‌دان
 درباب اینک سیت رستم مانک برای کردن کوتی
 انگریز در شهر سورت با انگریز نزدیک پادشاه دهلی رفت
 و شاه را عرض کرد و فرمان شاهی یافت و انگریز را در شهر
 سورت ماندن جای داد بیان آن

پس از بهر منشور سلطان هند که بوده شریف از شه روم و سند
 بهمراه انگریز رستم برفت بزودی ره آنشاه دهلی گرفت
 دران حین شاهی اورنگ زیب مده همچو تابان خور بانمیب
 که میروانش یکسر بزرین لباس خردمند و چالاک و مردم شناس
 بشوکت ز یکدیگر عالیترا دلاور تر و بانکو کردرا
 ازان یکسر شان نوشیروان بوده بزم آراستش با سران
 هم از زر و زیور همه لشکرش بیاراست بودند نزد درش
 همه فیلسوف کامل و عاقلان بیبوند صفه کشیده بآن
 بنزدیک آن شاه پر جاه و فر زطلّ امیرانش والا کوهر
 همرا کلاه پوش رستم رسید باداب و تسلیمهای سزید
 پس از سویی انگریز چون دادخواه تا از عرضش نموده بشاه
 که مرد از بهر بهره سودا کوی بهند آمدست از ره خاوری
 ولی دخل ندهند این را بشهر امیران درگاه والا بهر

همي مرد انگریز نیکو تراست
 گذارد چنین عرض کز لطف شاه
 که کار تجارت دران آردش
 به پیش همی عرض سیت بزرگ
 بزرگان و میران سلطان را
 ازان چونکه عرضش بر شاه کرد
 سفارش بر شاه از طرف آن
 پس آنکه بنزدیک اورنگ شاه
 بگفتش که منشور شاهی یکی
 دبیری پشش خواند و گفتش وزیر
 که در شهر سورت مرانگریز را
 نه سازد مکان خودش اندران
 بمال تجارت ذکا تش معاف
 نوشته چو فرمان شاهی چنین
 همان را بدستور خود را سپرد
 چو انگریز فرمان شاهی بیافت
 سورت گرفت
 نهر
 اجپور
 مت را
 طرفدار

بر امید ظل شهی بر تراست
 دهد جاش در شهر سورت پناه
 هم انبار خانه بران داردش
 ز نظران و تحفهای سترک
 نموده بودندش سادل خوشا
 ببرد داشت شان عرضش و راه کرد
 نمودند و پذیرفت شاه جهان
 وزیر اسد خان بوده پیشگاه
 بنام کلم پوش ده بیشکی
 بنویس فرمان شه بر حریر
 دهد دخل و جای مکان و سرا
 نباشد مزاحم و مانع کسان
 نمودست شه زالطافات صفاف
 بران مهر خود کرد شه بانگین
 زدستش بانگریز چاوش برد
 شده خوشتر و از رضایش بتافت
 وزانسو بجای دیگر سیت رفت
 بخد متکذاران بشادی بهر
 رسیدش بآرام و عیش و سرور
 شیدی یاقو با نام آن نامور
 هم او کرد مهمانگذاری فرا
 بدادش یکی خلعت زرنگار

زدل شاد و روی چو کل بشکفید
 بودش نامبردار و نگو تری
 فزون حرمتش داد و خرم شده
 پسندش شده گفته رستم
 هم کار خود را سپرده بار
 بداد و نمودش وداع با و تر
 شدندش پزیره بزرگان بیش
 پیامد مر او با فر و آفرین
 ببودش درانجای پر نیگو
 ازان پس همان نامور رستم
 برفت و ز دست رو پاک راه
 هم از شست اندام خود یکسرین
 برفتش بشوکت زدل تابناک
 خدای جهان راستایش گرفت
 یلایق اشو داد کردند شان
 سوال غریبان بر آورد بیش
 نمودندش ارسال باوصفا
 ریک یک شدند تازه روی و خوشا
 برفتش بسورت بارامگاه
 چه خویشان و بیگانگان و سترک
 باو شان شهر آمدش برز نور
 نمودند یکسر ابادل خوشا

وزانچاپش سوی دمی رسید
 دران پادری فرنگی سری
 ابا او ملاقات رستم شده
 برانچم بگفتش سخنها و را
 پیش از نوازش و بس عذر رو
 کرانمایه خلعت یکی پر ز ز
 از انسو چو نوساری آمد به پیش
 بهمراه انجمن پاک دین
 یکی نام نوشیروان خویش او
 بخانه خودش برد مهران و را
 بجای در مهر اورویسگاه
 شده پاک از شرب نیر نکدین
 بدرگاه آتش و هرام پاک
 بخواندن بآتش نیایش گرفت
 وزان پس بهر دستور و موبدان
 فزون صرف کردند در راه کیش
 بر هر رئیسان کران تحفا
 برستم هم آمد ازانجا بسا
 وزان پس ازان سوبه پیمود راه
 هم اهل سورت چه خورد و بزرک
 پذیره شدندش مرا از راه دور
 فزونتر برستم ثفا و دعا

وزان پس بدر بار نواب رفت
 با نکریز فرمان شه داده بود
 چون نواب فرمان شاهی بدید
 پیش مر حباداد مر سیت را
 چو اندر عدالت دبیرش بخواند
 بهوشیاری و زیرک رستم
 پیش باز بردست انکریز داد
 کله پوش آنرا فرستاده زود
 بآن شاه اینگلیس چون آن رسید
 ز دانش رستم ز کیفیتش
 بدانست کو هست دلاله ما
 فردش بسا آب و حرمت و را
 سخنهاي راه درازي گرفت
 همان را نفزدیک او بر کشود
 بسر بر نهاد و قبولش کزید
 ابر همتش کرد افزون دعا
 فراوان ازان هر کس حیران بماند
 بکردند یکسر دعا و ثنا
 همان شاهی منشور شوکت زیاد
 بر شاه خود در ولایت خود
 ز خواندش شده شادمانش مزید
 شنیده عجب ماندش از همتش
 سپرد از حضور خودش کارها
 کزان شد بهندوستانش بها

درباب اینک در دریای حد فرنگیان با کشتی پر مال
 تاجار عثمان چلیبی را با فرنگیان جنگ شده بود ازان سبب
 فرنگیان کشتی عثمان چلیبی را گرفته در ملک خود بردند
 آنرا رستم مانک رهانید

بسورت بوده تاجر احترام
 بکار تجارت بودش استوار
 بودش از گلکها شقیتم بزرگ
 ز بهنجار دریا باب کران
 که ارمار قوسا شدش روبرو
 ز هر دو طرف قوس بکذاشتند
 که تاجار عثمان چلیبیش نام
 همتش نام مشهور در هر دیار
 ز جدا پرار بار نقد سترک
 می آمد رسیدش بلا ناکهان
 بر انکیخت جنگ بیکدیگر او
 دران شعلها آتش افراشتند

ولي شان بودند زور آوران
 گرفتند کشتي عثمان در آب
 هم را گرفتند و کردند بند
 بد از چار لگ روپيه افزوتوان
 ببرند شان کشتيش زود تر
 به بندر نهادند لنگر کران
 شده واقف از بن بنا سربسر
 شده مغمومش چون شنيد اين براه
 که خان امانت بد او نیکنام
 بکشتي خود داد خواهي نمود
 بنزدیک خود جاي داده نشاند
 شنيد و در انديش افتاد ازو
 بخواندند و احضار کشتند بيش
 وزان پس بمشورت شافرا نشاند
 که بايد درينجاي رستم زياد
 بياورد مرسيت را در جناب
 نشاندش بر خودش با عز و جاه
 بگفتا که بشو تو اين ماجرا
 بمعرفت ساخت پيمان سنک
 چرا لايماني کفد حال بيش
 ببرند ترسا و نساژند بزم
 که از تو همي کار کردد درست
 کفد جان فشاني بذاست بسا

بمردند چندين فرنک اندران
 ازان آخرش شان زکردان غراب
 دران هر که تجار و مردم بودند
 هم مال و نقدي عثمان دران
 بد آن يکسر مردمان مال و زر
 بر بندر دمن آورد شان
 ازان پس به عثمان رسیده خبر
 بد از ذات ترکيش بس کينه خواه
 دران حين نواب ملجاي عام
 بر او بدرگاه رفتش بزود
 چونواب اورا بديد و بخواند
 ز آهستگي يکسري کفته او
 ازان بعد بمنصب داران خویش
 باوشان سخنهاي کشتيش راند
 ز اندیشهها کرد نواب ياد
 ز ارشاد اورفت مردم شتاب
 ميان بزرگان دران بارگاه
 پيشش در حضور هم سیت را
 که از بهر کشتي هم با فرنک
 چرا بشکند آن فرنک عهد خيش
 که کشتي عثمان با جبار و رزم
 ازان رستما اندرين کار تست
 که شان مي شناسند يکسر ترا

مُند استجاب شان سخنهاي تو جزت از دكرايې نكردد نكو
 زتصدي كشيده واز تدبيرات غراب چليبي بياراز نجات
 ز نواب چون اين شنيدش سخن قبولش نمود اندران انجمن
 ناجازت ز نواب رستم بخواست بگشتش از انسوزاند يشه راست

درباب اينكه سبت رستم مانك براي رها نيدن كشتي
 عثمان به بندر دمن رفت

چو آمد بكاشانه آن نيكيخت بزودي براه سفر بست رخت
 بسي تحفا بهر اهل فرنگ گرفتش بهمراه خود بيد رنگ
 بچندين كسانهاي خدمتگذار گرفته ره دمن آن نامدار
 درانوقت همراهش تجاركان بزرگان درگاه آمانت خان
 برفتند شان تا بدرهاي شهر گرفتند آغوش يكسر بهمر
 پس از كرده پدرود آن سبت را بكشتند شان باز هر بكسرا
 چو رستم از انجا به پيمود راه بيد آمد بنوساري قصه كاه
 بآتش وره رام بفهاد سر مراد خودش خواست زو سر بسر
 نيايش آن با عبادت خدا نمودش ابا موبدان صفا
 هم اوشان همي خواست يكسر دعا كه بافتح باز آردش ايزدا
 نمودند شانرا فزون شادمان ز داده زر و سيم حرمت كران
 كسي آمده كرده نزدش سوال همان وقت ميكرد بر شان نوال
 ازان هر غريبان و خورد و بزرگ شدند شادمان با فرين سترگ
 پيش از دل شاد زانجا برفت بمردم خود راه دمن گرفت
 بردشت آن چون رسيدش دمان خبر شد بسالار كپتان كران
 كه رستم بپايد بدمن بكار همان وقت آن سرور نامدار

پذیره فرستاده کردند چند بزرگان آنجا برش از جنده
 بشوکت ورا یکسر مهتران ببردند نزدیک کپتان کران
 پیش سیت راداده عزت نشاند بشیرین زبان گفتگوی براند
 بر او ازان بعد بس تحفهها نهادش ابا آفرین و ثنا
 بد آنجا دیگر پادری بزرگ ورا نیز هدیه بدادش سترک
 ازان خاطر آن پادری وکران بکشتند شاداب و بس شادمان

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک با سردار فرنگی دمن
 برای کشتی عثمان چلیبی گفتگوی کرد

بر او پیش عرض کشتی براند زاول تاخر هم قصه خواند
 که از بهر فریادی آن غراب برت آمدم کان بیابم شتاب
 ز بهر رهان کشتیش آمدم نه از سویی او جنگی اش آمدم
 بل از عذر خواهی کفم عرض باز که از داده کشتی کفم سرفراز
 ازیرا که با اهل مغلان شما نمودست قول محکم بما
 که کشتی سورت و غیره ز جهد نگیریم هرگز نکشتیم ز عهد
 نباید کسستن چنان بند و بست که از دهن بکشتن چه پیمان شکست

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک را سردار فرنگی
 برای کشتی جواب داد

ورا داد سالار ترسا جواب که بودند آن ترکیان در غراب
 نمودند شوخی با هلان ما دوان آمدند شان بمردان ما
 بکشتند مردم ما چند شان بچندین کس هم زخم کردند شان
 پس آنکه کشتی شانرا ز جنگ گرفتند مردم ما بپودرنگ

نمودند آن هر کسان را به بند
ولی در گووا سرور ماسترک
ازین ماجرایش خبر کرده ام
چو ارشادش آید ز گووه ورا
ازان پس بکپتان کران گفت باز
که از مهربانیت باشد چنان
کنون مشورت اندرین باب تو
برستم چنان پاسخش باز داد
بگووه بر ویزریت برو
بی ارشادش هرگز نیایی مراد
خوشته دهم خوبیت نامه
بزودی شود کار تو بیکمان
پس آغاز ترقیم کردش بزود

درینجا همان کشتی آورده اند
بود ویزریش بنام بزرک
ورا یکسر احوال بنوشتام
دهم پس همی مال و کشتی ترا
زبس عذر آن رستم سرفراز
که کارم بود بآبروی کران
چسان میدهد چه جوابت درد
که کر خواهدت کان برآید مراد
که آید بدستت ملک این ازو
هم از رفته فرحت به بینی زیاد
کران تو رسد بادلت کامه
دهد او ترا عذر حرمت کران
نوشته ورا داد و رخصت نمود

در باب اینکه سردار دمن رستم مانک را نامه نوشت
داد آن نامه کوفته سیت رستم بگووه نزد ویزریل که حاکم
گووه بود رفت و کشتی عثمان را از دست اوشان رها نید
چو رستم ز کپتان کران نامه یافت
ر پیموده راهش بس از قزو آب
به انجا سر نام کپتان سران
ز عزت پهر سیدش خیر افیت
ازان پس برش سیت رستم زیاد
کزیی سرورتم سوي گووه روم

از انجا بمردم خود در بتافت
بیامد درون وسیع اش شتاب
بمردم پذیره شدش نزد آن
دگر گفت کاینجا چرا آمدت
هم باب کشتی عثمان کشاد
برسله ران از توصل شوم

پسش در گلستان خود سیت را
 ببودند اثمار انواع دران
 بماند اندران سیت با شاد کام
 بشرب و آقل برش اجناس خام
 مدارا بسی کرد از حرمت کران
 ز انواع خورده طعام و شراب
 چو بیدار از آرام در بامداد
 پسش خواست رخصت ز کپتان سران
 درانگاه یکی خلعت زر نگار
 بآن نامۀ پر سفارش هم او
 بس از لطف او را وداعش نمود

مکان داد کو بود بس خوشنما
 باشجار الوان خوشبو تران
 بآرام بگذاشت روز تمام
 بمولش فرستاده بودند تام
 چو نوروز شادی ازان بود دران
 بشب اندران جاش خوش کرد خواب
 شده ذکر ایزدان نمودش زیاد
 که باید کفونم بگووه روان
 بدادش ابا رستم نامدار
 نوشته بدادش ز عز نکو
 پسش رفت زانجا بر گووه زود

در باب اینکه رسیدن رستم مانک بگووه و خبر رسیدن سردار گووه و یزریل را از آمدن رستم

چو آن سیت در حد گووه رسید
 که دلّاله ما سیت رستم زیاد
 شدش شادمانتر خبر زین شنود
 که نزدش پذیره همه کس روند
 نرفتند شان پس بر او دمان
 چو رستم بدرگاه و یزریل رسید
 بزرگی بداده بر خویش خواند
 پس اشیاء تحفه بو یزریل که بود

بو یزریل شد اطلاعش پدید
 ز سورت بیاید برین جای داد
 ابر مهتران کرد ارشاد زود
 ز بس حرمت و عزتش آوردند
 ابا حشمتش آوردند شان
 بخواندش و را بآبروی سزید
 بجا مرتبه دادش او را نشانه
 بمردم خود آنکه آورده بود

برش آن همه سیت نظرانه کرد
 پس اخبار و احوال آن سرفراز
 که چون قصدیت تادرینجا کشید
 بگفتش که ای صاحب سروران
 که تاجار عثمان چلیبی بنام
 غرابش ز دریای اهل فرنک
 بسا مال و نقدی بود اندران
 ازان آمدم کان غراب بزرک
 پیش هر دو آن نام سروران
 مطالعه نمودش شتاب از کشاد
 برستم بگفت از تسلی بسا
 صبر کن بایزدان توکل بدار
 پیش داد اوانه شاهوار
 بنه ما سیت اندرانجا مانند
 بیاراند از سوی سورت هم اند
 بدیکر بزرکان و هم سروران
 وزان پس برافراشت کاخ بلند
 ابا دو محله بلند و فراز
 کفانیه کار منقش بران
 دران کرد بس زیب آرایش
 هم از مخبل اسباب گاه نشین
 به نزهت گرفتن ازان پاک مرد
 بپرسید و از رنج راه دراز
 چه کار افتادت که اینجارسید
 ضرور آمدن افتادم ازان
 بسورت بود تاجر احترام
 گرفت آوریند مردانه هنگ
 که کشتی بزرکست با مردمان
 بیایم زلف تو گرم سترک
 بدست ورا داد در آن زمان
 بخندید و شد شاد اندر نهاد
 که مانی درینجا انا دل خوشا
 که آزد مراد تو پروردگار
 بباشیدن رستم نیک کار
 بعیش و عبادت شهوش براند
 بسا تحفه کونه کون نکو
 نمودند نظرانه بکسر همان
 دران گووه آن رستم ارجمذ
 همان ساختش با دلانهاد راز
 شده زان بتابانش چون کویران
 ز کار بلورین و اینها
 باندود وزان شد چو یکسر نکیر

بهیرامون آن کاخ باغ بزرگ
 بطلبید و یزریل را پس دران
 بزرگی بس افزود دایش اران
 چو این ماجرایش بشاه فرنگ
 همان پادشاه و بزرگان او
 پس آورد و یزریل برسیت مهر
 ابا یکسر مردم و مال و زر
 بحین وداع خلعت پر ز زر
 بجز آن دیگر خلعت و هدیه
 پس افراشت رختش از انجای زود
 روان کرد کشتی بدریای آب
 بکشتی چورستم به بندر رسید
 بدربار نوابش آمد شتاب
 پیسید احوال کشتی و را
 چو بشنید نواب یکسر بیان
 بدانش و بر همت سیت را
 هم انگه یکی خلعت شاهوار
 بر خانه خود آمدش در زمان
 پس این مژده نزد چلبی رسید
 برستم بیامد همانگه شتاب
 چو جنت بنا کرد سیت سترک
 بخوردن ابا سرور و مهتران
 نمودند بس آفرین یکسران
 شده در پورتکال باوصف و هنک
 شدند یکسر زان خوش و تازه رو
 بداده همان کشتی اش پر ز بهر
 سپردش کزان سیت شد شاد تر
 همش داد او را کرانمایه نر
 بسیت آمدند از دیگر جا بسا
 زو یزریل رضا خواستش باد رود
 بیاورد در بهر سورت شتاب
 کفانید لنگر بجای سزید
 زدیدش شده شاد رس داد آب
 بگفتش بر او هم ماجرا
 عجب ماند از کار رستم عیان
 بسی آفرین کردش و مرحبا
 برستم بدادش بعز و وقار
 زدیدارش یکسر شدند شادمان
 بدیدش برسیت رفتن سزید
 بخانه خودش برد باجاه و آب

بهر سیدش اخبار یکسر و را بیان کرد از اولین آخرا
 ز گفتار رستم شنیده چلیب شده شاد و حیران بماند و عجیب
 بزودی یکی خلعت پر ثنا برستم بدادش ابا تحفا
 ز بس قصد یعاتش هم از تشرفات نمود عجزش با دعا و صفات
 با کرام موفور آن سیت را وداع کرد و رفتش پر اراد دل خوشا
 چنان از امورات رستم زیاد به نیکی و خوبی و بخشش و داد
 بهر سرور و حاکم و تاجران شدش شوکت و آب و حرمت کران
 شد اینجا ز امداد رب انتها مراین قصه رستم مانکا
 از برا بپرداخت این نظم را که تاجاودان خوبی رستما
 برادی و نامی و همت بلند غریب پروری و اساس از جمند
 بدانند هر مردم خاص و عام کنند یاد نیکی رستم مدام
 تمام شد این قصه سیت رستم هانک باشندده بشهر
 سورت بروز مبارک رشن راست بهاه خرداد سنه یک
 هزار و دوصد و پنجاه و دو یزد کردی این قصه را در سال
 یک هزار و هشتاد یزد کردی موبد جمشید کیقباد که باشندده
 سورت بود تصنیف کرده بود و کاتب و مالک این قصه
 ایرچ دستور سهراب جی بن دستور کاوس جی مهر جی
 رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری و از قصه که این نقل کردم آن
 اصل قصه در کجراتی با معنی نوشته نزد سیت کیخسرو
 رستم جی بود ازان روی در فارسی نقل کردم -
 تمام شد

DOCUMENT No. 1.¹

OUR PRESIDENT AND
COUNCILL OF BOMBAY.

LONDON, *the 19th Aug^r. 1724.*

Wee the Court of Directors of the United Company Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies send this to acquaint you That by the King George lately arrived, and the Stanhope which came in Sometime before Wee have received yo^r. severall packets and Advices giving us an Account of our Affairs under your Management with the reasons of your proceedings. We observe in Yo^r Letters by y^e King George, That the Governour of Suratt and the Merchants think it very reasonable, that the late Brokers should give us satisfaction as to all just Demands upon them, which as you have wrote us is what you desire, and would be content with the proof of even from their own Books and Accounts, and to submit any Matters of difference that may arise To the Determination of the Merchants of Suratt to be mutually chosen by the said Brokers and you, for them to conclude and settle the same.

We find in the Letter by the King George That Fframjee is in Custody at the Suratt Durbar, and Bomanjee remains confined to his house at Bombay, former Letters gave us yo^r. reasons, why you did not then think it proper to let him go off the Island.

The Salisbury Man of War which arrived at Spithead the later end of Aprill last brought Nowrajee from Suratt, he is since come up hither, and hath laid before us severall papers and accounts which are Order'd to be perused and taken into Consideration.

Among other papers he gave us one Entituled the Case of Framjee in close prison at Suratt, wherein he represents, That this was occasion'd by the English Chiefs Mr. Hope & afterwards Mess^{rs}. Cowans & Courtneys application to Momeen Caun the

¹ In reading some words which are not legible, I am helped by the copies printed by Jalbhoy about 40 years ago. Some missing letters where they are not legible are put in brackets by me. As to the year at the top, it is 1724. After the printing off of the above papers, I have seen some extracts which Mr. Kavasji Seth has sent for from the old records in England and I find that the year in the Extracts also is 1724 and so the matter requires a consideration other than the one given by me above in the Section (Section II a) of Documents. I g^{ve} at the end a fac-simile photo of this first document.

Suratt Gov^r. and by a Letter delivered to him wrote by Governor Phipps on which Framjee was at first confined, then Guards set on his Father Rustumjee's house, after this Framjee was forced to pay Momeen Caun at times Fifty Thousand rupees, and also Two hundred rupees a day for leave to supply the people in the house with provisions and Water, and besides all these hardships he has undergone Corporall punishments.

We are apt to think this Case is greatly aggravated or at least that the Governor proceeded to rigorous treatment to Oblige Framjee to come to a fair Account according to the Custome of the Countrey, which was at first civilly desired to be done without any Compulsion, and ought to have been Comply'd with.

But however the Case be, We have at Nowrajee's request consented and agreed, and do hereby direct and Order That you do give leave to Bomanjee, if he do yet remain at Bombay to go to Surat whenever he pleases without delay, and That you do Yor Endeavour by proper application to the Governor of Surat to get Framjee released from Confinement, and the Guards taken off from his late Father's house. Our desires being to end all differences amicably for We would not have him opprest.

We have at Nowrajee's desire given him Six Letters, all of the same Tenor with this, That as he intends to send them overland, if any should Miscarry, the rest may come Safe and Earlier than by the Shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till the proper Season by which you may Expect an answer to your Letters now before us, We are

Your Loving Friends

E. HARRISON.

ABRA ADDAMS.

JOHN DRUMMOND.

WILLM. AISLABLE.

WM. BILLERS.

WM. GOSSEHN.

RICH^d. BOULTON.

ROB^t. HUDSON.

CHAN CHILD.

JOS. WORDSWORTH.

JOHN. GOULD.¹

JOHN ECCLESTON.

EDWD. OWEN.

JOHN BANCE.

BALTZAR LYETE.

JOS. WORDSWORTH (JUN^r).

MATHEW DECKER.

¹ There are at the end some three letters, which Jalbhoy reads (Jun).

DOCUMENT No. 2.

TO ALL PEOPLE to whom these Presents shall Come Wee Sir Mathew Decker of London Barronet Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote of London Esquires send Greetings WHEREAS in and by One Indenture bearing date on or about the Eighteenth day of November last and made or mentioned to be made Between The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies of the one part and Nowrojee Rustumjee of Surat in the East Indies (but then and now residing in London) Merchant of the other Part Reciting that severall Accounts Claims and Demands had been depending and several Disputes and Controversies had arisen between the said United Company and the said Nowrojee Rustumjee as well on the behalf of himself as Framjee and Bomanjee his Brothers in themselves or one of their own Proper right as in the right of Rustumjee Manackjee Father of the said Nowrojee, Framjee and Bomanjee to whom they are Representatives AND RECITING that the said partys having a Desire that an amicable End might be made of all Matters in difference between them had indifferently Elected and Chosen us to be Arbitrators of in and Concerning the premises and had agreed that wee the said Arbitrators should and might finally Determine all Differences Controversies Disputes Claims and Demands between the said Partys or either of them upon any account whatsoever IT WAS WITNESSED by the same Indenture that it was thereupon Covenanted and agreed by and between the said Partys thereto and the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Did for themselves and their Successors Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brother at Surat that they the said United Company their Successors and Assigns should and would for and on their parts well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fullfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the premisses so as the same was made and put in writing under our hands and Seales respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India House in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of the Instant January AND the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Did for himself and in the behalf of his Brothers their

and each of their Executors and Administrators Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies their Successors and Assigns that he the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brothers their and each of their Heirs Executors and Administrators should and would well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fullfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the Premises so as the same was made and Put in writing under our hands and Seals respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India house in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of this Instant January AND it was thereby Declared and agreed by and between the Partys thereto that the said submission and the award to be made by the said Arbitrators in Performance thereof Should be made a Rule of his Majestys Court of Kings Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining Differences by Arbitrators as in and by the said Recited Indenture duly Executed by the Partys thereto reference being thereunto had may more at la (...) appear¹ Now Know Ye that wee the said Sir Mathew Decker Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote having taken upon us the burthen of the said Award and fully heard and Examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Party and duly and Maturely weighed and considered the same and the Matters in difference between them Do Declare that it Appears unto us that there was due at or upon the Eighteenth day of November last from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee and to the said Framjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Called Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Sons of the abovenamed Rustumjee Manackjee Ninety One thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenty nine Pies and a half upon or by Virtue of One Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the Seal of the said Company bearing date on or about the Fifteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen and that there was likewise at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee

¹ The words in this line are not legible now, but Mr. Jalbhoy Seth who read them in 1900 gives them as "at large appear".

Rustumjee Fifty one thousand Eight hundred and Forty Rupees upon or by Virtue of one other Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the seal of the said Company bearing date on or above the fourth day of October One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen AND it further appears unto us the said Arbitrators that there was at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee upon severall Accounts depending between them and the said United Company so much as in the whole with the Money due on the abovementioned Bonds Deeds or Interest Bills as aforesaid make together Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees which said Five hundred Forty Six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees wee Declare to be the full of all that Can to the time aforesaid be Claimed or demanded of or from the said United Company by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee either in their own right or in the right of either of them or as they or either of them are Representatives or Claim under their abovenamed Father or otherwise howsoever and accordingly wee do award the said Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees to be accepted by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee in full satisfaction of all Demands between them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November and wee award the same to be paid in the Manner and form and at the Place hereafter mentioned (that is to say) Wee award that the sume of Nineteen thousand One hundred and twenty five Pounds Sterling money being the amount of Value in England of One hundred and Seventy thousand Rupees be well and truly Paid or Caused to be paid by the said U(nited) Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee on or before the first day of February now next Ensueing and that upon such Payment the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do deliver up to the said United Company to be Cancelled the B(ond her)ein before Mentioned to be dated on or about the Eighteenth day of May One thousand seven hundred an(d.....een)¹ whereon as above mentioned is due Ninety one thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenety Nine pies and a half and the said other Bond herein-

¹ Jalbhoy gives "Sixteen".

before mentioned to be dated the fourth day of O(cto)ber (?) One thousand seven hundred and sixteen whereon as above mentioned²and Eight hundred

.....do further award that the said United Company do on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year (of Ou)r Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty five Engli(sh) stile well and truly Pay or Cause to be paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay in the East Indies the further su(m of) One hundred Eighty Eight thousand one hund(red and) Ninety five Rupees upon Payment whereof wee do Award and Direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall him(self sig)n and also Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and (Boma)njee Rustumjee to sign a Receipt of acquitta(nce) of and for the said One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees AND wee do further De(clare and) award the said United Company well and truly to Pay or cause to be Paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay aforesaid on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty six English Stile the further Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees being the residue of and in full Payment and satisfaction for the Sume of Five hundred and forty six thousand three hundred and ninety Rupees so due and Owing from the said United Company in the whole as abovementioned upon Payment of which said last Mentioned Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees wee do award that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall Sign Seal and Deliver and likewise Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee to Sign Seal deliver to or to the use of the said United Company and their Successors a General Release of and from all Claims Accounts and Demands whatsoever between them and each of them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November last past And wee Do Award and direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do and shall also Sign Seal and Execute unto and to the use of the said United Company a Bond of Sufficient Panalty

² Jalbhoy gives, as read in 1900, "is due fifty one thousand eight hundred and forty Rupees and we."

Conditioned for the saveing harmless and indemnified the said United Company and their Successors of from and against all Claims and Demands that shall or may be made upon the said United Company or their Successors for or in respect of the said Sumes of Money so paid in Pursuance of this Award and from and against all Actions Suits and Damages that Shall or may happen to or be at any time or times Commenced or Prosecuted against the said United Company or their Successors for or by reason or in respect of their having made such Payments as aforesaid or any of them or otherwise howsoever in relation thereto IN WITNESS WHEREOF wee the said Arbitrators have to this our Award Sett our hands and Seals this Eighteenth Day of January in the Eleventh year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain France and Ireland defender of the Ffaith E¹opez (?) Domini 1724.

Sealed and Delivered.

MATHEW DECKER,

I.S.

(being first Duely stamp^t)

JOS. WORDSWORTH,

I.S.

in the presence of

E. HARRISON,

I.S.

STR. HERVEY (?)

JOHN HEATHCOTE,

I.S.

GEORGE LLOYD (?)

(The Document bears a Seal on the left hand margin. The words Honi and Mal are distinctly read ; the other portions are torn off. So, the Seal seems to bear the inscription "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.")

¹ Jalbhoy gives these words as "or Anno".

² For the reading of these two letters which seem to be I.S. and are put within a circle, *vide* above (Section IIA Documents).

DOCUMENT No. 3.³

1. TO ALL to whom these Presents shall come. We Sr Edward Mathus
2. Knight Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London Send Greeting
3. KNOW YE that on the day of the of the King Majesty of Court (?)
4. holden before us in the Chambers of the hall ? of the said City personally (?)
5. and appeared
6. wellknown and worthy of good credit (?)
and by solumn oath wh
7. upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God there and there C
8. solemnly declare and depose (?)
that was
9. Sr Mathew Decker of London Baronet Josias Wordsworth E(dward Harrison)
10. and John Heathcote of London Esquires Severally sign seal and (de)liv(er)
11. and Deeds Deliver our originall instrument of
12. the Eighteenth day of January last and purporting to be
13. the East India Company in England, and Nowrojee (?)
14. of Surat and that he the said
15. and Delivery thereof did his
16. Bond and the said Nowrojee (?) did further declare . . .
17. that the said writing (?)
18.
19. or that he the said
20. the said Originall Instrument and the same Exactly to
21. the same in Every respect.
In Ffaith and testimony of
. . . . Lord Mayor
. . . . Seal of
. . . . put and appeared
on fourth day of February
of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord
. . . . King of Great Britain ,
Dated 1724.
(Here there is an illegible signature)

³ This document is referred to by Jalbhoy.

DOCUMENT No. 4.

MESSRS. FRAMJEE RUSTUMJEE AND BOMANJEE RUSTUMJEE.

I have received yo^r Several Letters, and have returned answer to some of them by Captⁿ. Hide and last by Mr. Thomas Waters ; And I think you did wrong to send Newrojee to England without a Letter of Attorney from und^r yo^r hands after the English maner, neither did you send by him the original Bonds, which was the most material things wanting—I have to the utmost of my power helped and assisted Newrojee in yo^r. affair, and have been of greater service than any body cou'd have been here, as I beleive Newrojee will do me the justice to signify to you—whatever Newrojee hath done in this concern hath been by my advice, he always consulted with me, and I have told him what was necessary and proper to be done—And as I have said to Newrojee that if he or you tell any body what methods have been taken in England relating to this business it will greatly prejudice the affairs.

Newrojee & Capt. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man of War have had some dispute (the particulars Newrojee will acquaint you with) which dispute I have made an end of here, and they have given a General release to each other.

Yo^r. Brother Newrojee hath paid the money due to me for consulage and Interest, and I have given him a receipt for the same—I have likewise agreed with Newrojee that in case my Attorney in India should have received this money from either of you, Mr. Thomas Waters sha(ll pay) back the money to you, with Interest according to the Custome of India and I have write to Mr. Waters & ordered him so to do—I have advised Mr. Newrojee, and so have several Gentn.¹ here, that you three Brothers shou'd live amicably and peaceably in all yo^r. affairs, because in a very short time Its to be hoped the hon^{ble}. Company will employ you all jointly as their Broker, as is promised by my own, and Newrojees good Friends here, but if any dispute happens among you then you will ruin yo^r. business—Since Newrojees comeing to England he hath been very ill, but he hath taken great pains in this business, and every body here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction

¹ Gentlemen.

of the hon^{ble} Company, and for the Good and Interest of his Brothers and Family ; therefore you ought to make him a handsome present for his long and fatiguing voyage & Good Services.

In yo^r. account dated Sepr. 10th 1722 You have deducted Thirteen hundred Twenty Two Rupees 59 pice¹ for Commission on Twenty Six Thousand Four hundred Fifty Eight Rupees 33 pice at 5 p. Cent to Mr. Hope as Vice Consul, this I can't allow, therefore I hope you will recover it with Interest. For I promised Mr. Hope only on what he shou'd collect himself, by which means I understood he was Security, whereas had not yo^r. affairs taken a favourable turn, my consulage must have been lost, by Mr. Hopes neglecting my orders—I have ordered my Attorney to receive back from Mr. Hope whatever he has so fallaciously charged in former Accounts, and I hope for yo^r. assistance as I shall readily serve you in England.

I understand Mr. Hope has not Credited me for the Williams consulage and some other Ships on pretence that they belonged to Companys Servants, the Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception, and the excusing the Servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary Act and designed only as an encouragement to Young Beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in Stocks, otherwise the name of a Companys Servant might cover many Cargo's as Mr. Hope has done, this I hope you will enquire into and clear up for me.

I come now to recomend to you Mr. Thomas Waters, whom, I have made my Atto(rney) if he applies to you for yo^r. assistance in mine or his own affairs, I flatter myself you will give him what you are able — I recomend you to the divine providence, and am

Yo^r. very Loveing.

Mr. WATERS, Mr. INNES, Mr. }
LAMBTON, MR. LOUTHER are all my }
Friends, whom I desire you will }
assist as occasion serves. }

CHAR BOONET.

LONDON *March 25 1725.*

Yesterday your brother concluded his affair with Commadore

¹ In this document the word pice is written in small types above the figure.

Mathews, which considering the nature of your bil of Exchange is very wel made and end of and I do not think of least service I have done your family, I hope you wil exert your selves in like manner for me.

CHAR BOONET.

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